FBIS DAILY REPORT

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LEADERS ATTEND LIBERATION CELEBRATIONS

AU301115 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Tirana, November 30 [ATA] -- The people of Shkoder District celebrated yesterday with enthusiasm the 39th anniversary of its liberation from the foreign occupiers and the traitors to the country.

Wreaths were laid and homage were paid at the martyrs' graves of the district.

Present at the ceremony on the occasion was also the secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia. He met cordially with the parents and relatives of the martyrs' families and with other working people.

Besides this, Comrade Ramiz Alia paid visits to martyrs' families and vanguard working people yesterday before noon.

Wreaths were laid and homage were also paid at the martyrs' graves of the District of Vlore. Present at the ceremony on the occasion was also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu. He laid a wreath at the monument erected in commemoration of the glorious deed of Comrade Hysni Kapo.

Hundreds of working people of the city of Peshkopia, Diber District took part in the ceremony organised at the martyrs' graves to honour their unforgettable deed.

Present was also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of home affairs, Comrade Hekuran Isai.

Also wreaths were laid and homage paid at the martyrs' graves of the District of Berat. Present was also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Lenka Cuko.

Ceremonies on the occasion were also made at the monument of the hero of the people Bajram Curri in the city called after him and at the martyrs' graves of the Tropoje District. Attending was also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of industry and mining, Comrade Hajredin Celiku.

Thousands of working people of the city of Elbasan participated in the ceremony of laying of wreaths and paying of homages at the martyrs' graves of the district. Attending was also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the district party committee, Comrade Pali Miska.

Working people of work and production centers of the District of Durres went to the martyrs' graves, to the monuments and commemoration slabs, honouring with profound respect the memory of the martyrs. Wreaths were laid and homages were paid at the mausoleum of the martyrs of the district.

Taking part was also the member of the Political Bureau Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the district party committee, Comrade Muho Asllani.

Such a ceremony was organized at the martyrs' graves of the District of Kruje, too. Attending was also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi.

Attending the activities organized in the city of Pogradec, such as the ceremony of laying wreaths and paying homage at the martyrs' graves of the district and visits to the martyrs' and veterans' houses, was also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of finances, Comrade Qirjako Mihali.

Such activities were organized in the city of Saranda, too. Attending them was also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Llambi Gegprifti.

The inhabitants of the villages Orman-Ciflik and Ravonik of Korce District commemorated the memory of the martyrs of these zones who laid down their lives in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

Wreaths were laid at the monument of the partisan in the martyrs' graves of the district. Taking part was also the secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava.

Such ceremonies at the martyrs' graves and visits to the houses of the martrys, veterans and vanguards working people were organized also in the districts of Fier, Lezhe, Librazhd, Gjirokastra, Puke, Kolonje, Lushnje, Permet, Skrapar, Gramsh, Mirdite, Mat, Kukes, and Tepelene.

ALIA SENDS GREETINGS TO YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT

AU292047 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 83

[Text] Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following greetings telegram to Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency:

On occasion of the SFRY national holiday I send the Yugoslav peoples greetings and best wishes for progress and prosperity on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

USSR DEPUTY PREMIER, DEPUTY MINISTER VISIT

Smirnov Tours Computer Plants

AU292059 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 83

[Text] Leonid Smirnov, USSR deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is visiting the Plovdiv Okrug, accompanied by Comrade Todor Bozhinov. The Soviet guest visited the united plants for the production of computer equipment.

Metallurgy Officials Confer

AU242039 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] Comrade Todor Bozhinov received the delegation of the Soviet Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy led by Deputy Minister Valentin Ustinov. Talks were held on cooperation between the two countries in nonferrous metallurgy, and, in particular, on reconstruction and modernization of the mining capacities and the processing plants in organizing the production of nonferrous goods and of new composite materials with a view to a long-term and comprehensive extraction of all useful components of our ores.

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR

AU301909 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA) -- The integration and the bringing of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union closer together in the scientific sphere was the major topic of the session of the Joint Commission for Scientific Cooperation Between the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, which ended here. The session was dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the first cooperation agreement between the two academies.

As it was underlined in the protocol of the session signed tonight, the contacts between the Bulgarian and the Soviet scientists are developing along ascending lines. In the 1981-1985 period 63 institutes and central laboratories of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and 120 institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and the Academies of Sciences of the Soviet republics are tackling jointly 11 complete target programmes and 30 problems in the most topical spheres of scientific knowledge. The themes of cooperation are chiefly aimed at the scientific backing of some important economic and social activities of the two countries as, for instance, the effective use and increase of the energy and raw material resources, the solving of the food and protein problem, chemicalization, automation, environment conservation and reproduction, etc. The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union is the major partner of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in the development of 60 per cent of the problems tackled by the academies of the socialist countries within the CMEA framework. The integration and the process of getting closer together with the Soviet science is one of the major trends in the scientific policy of Bulgaria. The entire history of Bulgaro-Soviet scientific contacts reaffirms that this is the effective way for an accelerated development of the techno-scientific progress in the country. Owing to these contacts, Bulgaria, has now at her disposal a very solid for her scale scientific potential, while the Bulgarian scientists have become much-sought partners in the development of international scientific projects.

Soviet institutes trained Bulgarian specialists in the most advanced scientific directions, such as nuclear physics and power generation, automatics and telemechanics, molecular biology, biophysics, biochemistry, cybernetics, etc.

The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union is working for the outfitting of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences with unique research apparatuses and equipment, including a nuclear reactor.

Since 1958, when the first agreement for cooperation was signed, Bulgaro-Soviet scientific terms carried out researches into the geological structure and of the deposits of mineral ores in Bulgaria, including the acquatorria [as received] of the Bulgarian Black Sea shelf, of its wind and geothermal resources. A joint two-volume work was published -- "Geography of Bulgaria". Seismic and other maps of the Bulgarian territory were drawn up. The Soviet scientists helped the Bulgarian specialists in the construction of the atomic power plant near Kozloduy, in the automatization of a number of production processes, in the transfer of efficient technologies for the burning out of low-calories coal. Joint were the efforts in developing and transferring into practice in both countries of new catalysts, methods of anticorrosion protective coating, destruction-free method of production, new computing equipment, etc.

The links of cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union made it possible for Bulgaria to play an active part in the exploration of space. As a result of the joint work, there were fired into the space around the world two research satellites.

BTA REPORTS SIGNING OF CSSR TRADE PROTOCOL

AU301912 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Prague, Nov 30 (BTA) -- A 1984 trade and payments protocol was signed in Prague yesterday by Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The document provides for Czechoslovakia to export metal-cutting lathes and forge-and-press equipment next year to Bulgaria, as well as products of the automobile industry, textile and roadbuilding machines, chemical products and consumer goods. Bulgaria will supply Czechoslovakia with metal-cutting machines, handling and hoisting machinery, computer and office equipment, automobile units, farm and food products, and consumer goods.

The protocol provides for the trade between the two countries to increase by three per cent next year as compared to 1983.

LEADERS RECEIVE DPRK VISITOR, DOCUMENTS SIGNED

AU181420 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 18 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, Nov 18 (BTA) -- Yesterday Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr Kong Chin-tae, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the Korean Party of Labour and deputy chairman of the Administrative Council of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, who is here on a visit. The guest is chairman of the side of the Korean People's Democratic Republic in the Intergovernmental Consultative Commission on Economic and Technoscientific Matters between Bulgaria and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

Mr Todor Zhivkov made a high assessment of the state of mutual trade and economic relations and paid attention to the need for their diversification and deepening by applying new forms of economic cooperation and in the first place of industrial cooperation. The Bulgarian party and state leader expressed the solidarity of the BCP, the Bulgarian state and the entire Bulgarian people with the just struggle of the Korean people for a peaceful and democratic unification of the country.

Mr Kong Chin-tae also had a talk with Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers. A wide range of questions pertaining to bilateral economic relations were discussed. Importance was attached to the cooperation in mechanical engineering, power generation, agriculture, the cement industry, the chemical industry and other branches. Last night the thirteenth session of the bilateral economic committee ended its work. It was stated that the two agreements signed this year -- on industrial cooperation in the manufacture of I.C.E. [Internal Combustion Engines] trucks and the setting up of a joint "friendship" institute specializing in the field of designing automated systems for process flow control, shape the aspect of the future economic cooperation. It is provided to sign similar agreements in the field of the manufacture of digital-program control machinery. It is expected to extend the ties in electronics, which have a good beginning. Bulgaria supplied the Korean People's Democratic Republic with two computing centres.

Reciprocal trade is expected to increase every year and to exceed the volume planned. Cooperation documents in geological prospecting, science and technology were signed.

CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO TURKISH CP ON BILEN DEATH

TA290700 (Clandestine) Voice of Turkish Communist Party in Turkish 0600 GMT 29 Nov 83

[Condolence message from Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee to Turkish Communist Party Central Committee on leader Ismail Bilen's death; date not given -- read by announcer]

Text] Dear comrades: We extend to you our deep condolences on Turkish Communist Party [TCP] leader Comrade Ismail Bilen Marat's death. Bilen will continue to live in the memory of all Bulgarian Communists as a fighter who struggled with all his heart for the strengthening of brotherly links between the TCP and the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] for the fulfillment of communist goals.

As a fervent patriot and an unwavering internationalist, Ismail Bilen has fought for the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and for the purification of Marxist-Leninist ideals. He has made great efforts on behalf of disarmament and for the prevalence of peace and security in the Balkans and throughout the world. The BCP Central Committee highly appreciates the struggle waged by Comrade Ismail Bilen and bows with respect before his enlightening memory. We are convinced that Turkish Communists, under the guidance of the TCP Central Committee, will unite to struggle firmly for the fulfillment of the cause for which Comrade Marat dedicated his entire life.

BALEV RECEIVES ISRAELI CP'S TAWFIQ TUBI

AU241528 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, Nov 24 (BTA) -- Today Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received the delegation of the CC of the Israeli Communist Party visiting Bulgaria led by Mr Tawfiq Tubi, deputy secretary general of the CC of the Israeli Communist Party.

Deep concern was expressed at the talks over the extreme exacerbation of the international situation through the fault of the USA and its NATO allies, who started the deployment of the US nuclear medium-range missiles in some Western European countries. A high assessment was made of the Soviet proposals to halt the arms race, for disarmament and saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, for peace and security in Europe.

It was emphasized that the aggressive acts of the USA and Israel in Lebanon and the Middle East, pointed at liquidating Lebanon as an independent and sovereign state, at imposing separate agreements with Israel on other Arab states as well and at doing away with the Palestinian resistance movement as an important factor in the Arab liberation movement, are a gross violation of the generally accepted norms of international law and the UN charter, they are part of the general aggressive militaristic course of the USA which has raised international terrorism into the rank of a state policy.

BCP GREETINGS TO GUINEAN PARTY CONGRESS

AU171950 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Conakry, November 17 /BTA/ -- The Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian people feel a sincere respect and sympathy [as received] for the successes achieved by the friendly Guinean people under the leadership of the Guinean Democratic Party and in the political, economic and social sphere, reads in part the message of greetings of the CC of the BCP to the 12th Congress of the Guinean Democratic Party, read out by the head of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr Ivan Shpatov, member of the CC of the BCP.

In the message of greetings high assessment is given to the friendly relations and cooperation between the two parties beginning of which was set from the time of the struggle of the Guinean people for national liberation. These relations have marked a considerable development after the proclamation of the independence of Guinea. We are convinced that these relations will continue to extend and deepen in the interest of the two peoples, reads the message in part. The agreement of the first party and state leaders of Bulgaria and Guinea, reached during the official and friendly visit of Mr Ahmed Sekou Toure, to Bulgaria, this year, constitute a solid basis for this.

The CC of the BCP expressed before the delegates of the congress its concern over the aggravation of the international situation through the fault of the moves of the most reactionary and militarist circles of the USA and of their NATO allies. The imperialist forces, headed by the United States, make every possible effort to block the way of the progressive revolutionary reforms in the world. They have launched a "crusade" against socialism and against all the progressive and democratic forces and are pursuing a policy of dictate, blackmailing threats, provocations and subversive acts, of gross interference with the internal affairs of sovereign states, of gross aggressions, such as the aggression in Grenada is, of maintaining and fanning out of new conflict situations and military hotbeds in Africa, the Middle East, Central America, and other spots in the earth.

At present the task of the tasks on a global scale is to preserve peace and to halt the arms race. To these noble goals the efforts of the USSR and of the other socialist community countries are devoted to, it is stressed in the message of greetings.

The CC of the BCP reaffirmed before the Congress of the Guinean Democratic Party its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for the further strengthening of their independence, for liquidating the last remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON MAURITANIA LEADER'S VISIT

AU231458 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Joint communique on "official, friendly visit" of Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, president of Mauritania, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 19 through 21 November]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, president of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania paid an official, friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 19 through 21 November 1983 at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The President of the Military Committee for National Salvation and Head of State of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, and those accompanying him as members of his delegation visited economic projects, historical and cultural monuments in Sofia and became acquainted with the Bulgarian people's achievements in building a developed socialist society.

Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum and paid his respects to the memory of Dimitrov. During his stay in Sofia the high-ranking Mauritanian guest stated that the cordial hospitality accorded to him is an expression of the good, friendly feelings existing between the Bulgarian and Mauritanian peoples. Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the President of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of State of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania held talks in which the following officials participated on the Bulgarian side:

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Nikola Todoriev, minister of power supply; Toncho Chakurov, minister of machine building industry and electronics; Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council Executive Committee; Comrade Todor Zhivkov's adviser Lyuben Bozhev; and Georgi Kruchmarski, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Mauritania.

The following officials participated in the talks on the Mauritanian side: Lieutenant Colonel Anne Amadou Babaly, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation and minister of industry and trade; Captain Mohamed Lemaine Ould Ndiyan, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation and deputy minister of fisheries and maritime economy; Ahmed Ould Zain, minister of planning and territorial development; Mohamed Abderahman Ould Saybot, director of the cabinet of the president of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of Mauritania; Yehdhih Ould Sidya Ahmed, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Dah Ould Abdi, press counselor of the head of state's cabinet; Mohamed Lemine Ould Cheikh Melaynin, adviser in the head of state's cabinet; Mohamed Mahmud Ould Mohamed Val, head of the Europe and America Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation; as well as Kamel Medjid, adviser of the minister of fisheries and maritime economy.

During the talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the two heads of state discussed the state and future prospects of the development of the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and exchanged opinions on topical international issues.

The Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria briefed his guest on the Bulgarian people's experience and achievements in building a developed socialist society and on the activities of working people in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala expressed his admiration for the successes achieved by the Bulgarian people.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov made a statement on the Bulgarian People's Republic's foreign policy aimed at the consolidation of peace, at detente, and cooperation among the peoples. He pointed out Bulgaria's contribution to cooperation among the Balkan countries and its proposal on the transformation of this area into a nuclear-free zone. Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala expressed his high appreciation for the Bulgarian People's Republic's construction activities on the international scene.

The president of the Military Council for National Salvation and head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania reported in turn on the domestic and foreign policy of Mauritania, particularly in regard to the efforts devoted by the national leadership since 10 July 1978 and which are already producing considerable results in the country's political, economic, cultural, and social life, as well as in the comprehensive restoration of the Mauritanian people's national image. He recalled the initiative to stop the participation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in the fratricidal war waged in Western Sahara, as well as the country's foreign policy aimed at good neighborly relations, and solidarity with the countries guided by the same principles and ideals, in particular as regards those that are struggling against imperialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racial discrimination, and apartheid.

Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, evinced interest in the strategy and development of Mauritania, which is based above all on the country's own resources and expressed high appreciation for the successes achieved along the path of a harmonious development of Mauritanian society.

Comrade Zhivkov welcomed the efforts of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in settling regional and international conflicts in a peaceful and just manner.

The two heads of state expressed their deep concern about the aggravation of tension in international relations and about the effect of this aggravation on the political and economic balance in the world. The two leaders denounced the arms race which is swallowing considerable financial resources that could be usefully spent to alleviate the sufferings and starvation affecting hundreds of millions of people.

The two leaders appealed for an immediate halting of the arms race because of the danger it represents for all mankind, along the path of negotiations, aimed at the reduction and liquidation of weapons, and of nuclear arms in particular, within the framework of a universal disarmament.

The president of the National Salvation Military Committee and head of state of Mauritania was briefed on the stand of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the most topical issues of our time and on Bulgaria's concern about the urgent and crucial problems that Europe is currently facing as a result of certain actions that have affected the spirit of detente in a negative way. The Mauritanian head of state evinced great interest in this report.

The chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in turn, was briefed on the principles and goals of the foreign policy conducted by the Islamic Republic of Mauritania which is actively struggling for just settlements of regional conflicts and of international problems within the framework of its strict nonalignment and in cooperation with the developing countries for the establishment of a more just economic system.

Dwelling on the Middle East situation the two heads of state once more confirmed their conviction that a just and lasting settlement of the crisis can be achieved solely by the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab terriotries, including East Jerusalem, by the implementation of the Palestinian people's national rights under the leadership of the PLO -- its only legitimate representative -- including the right to establish their own independent and sovereign state on their own native soil.

In discussing the situation in Lebanon the two state leaders denounced the Israeli aggression and the occupation of the Lebanese territory by Israel, insisting that the occupation troops should be withdrawn and expressing the wish that the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Lebanon within the framework of the Arab nation should be restored. The two Presidents expressed the wish that the hostile actions between Iraq and Iran should be stopped and that negotiations may be started from the peaceful settlement of the conflict between these two countries. The Bulgarian head of state expressed his high appreciation for the active role played by the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in consolidating the unity of action of African peoples and countries fighting for their independent development. The two sides once more confirmed their concern about the persistent conflict in West Sahara, which represents a hotbed of tension and is affecting stability in that area, as well as the interests of the countries and peoples situated there. The two leaders stressed the necessity of settling this conflict by peaceful means in observing the Sahara people's irrevocable right of self-determination in accordance with the respective resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the OAU.

Regarding South Africa the two sides expressed their support for the Namibian people's right of independence under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization and within the framework of UN resolutions, and denounced the attempts of the Republic of South Africa to delay this process.

The two leaders denounced the racial discrimination policy of apartheid conducted by the regime in South Africa and expressed themselves in favor of a democratic implementation of the majority rights of the population in that country.

The two sides insist on stopping the constant aggression of South Africa against the frontline countries.

The two heads of state expressed their satisfaction with the friendly atmosphere of the talks and with the results of this visit, which marks a new stage in the development of relations between the two countries and which opens great future prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation in the interest of peace and progress.

Expressing satisfaction with the existence of a number of opportunities for the expansion of bilateral cooperation, the two leaders pointed out specific measures, which are reflected in the protocol signed during the visit, for the development of economic cooperation between the two countries. The validity of the trade agreement signed between the two governments was reconfirmed, and the exports lists added to it were updated. Agreement was reached on the establishment of contacts between economic organizations regarding exchange of information and signing of trade agreements, and on rendering engineering-technical services in various sectors of industry, agriculture, maritime transport, and in training cadres as well as in sending specialists.

The two sides decided to expand and consolidate their cooperation in the fishing sector. They agreed also to cooperate in the water economy sector and in geological prospecting. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania agreed to sign a new plan on cultural, scientific, and technical exchange in the near future -- which will likely expand cultural relations between the two countries. The president of the Military Committee for National Salvation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania expressed gratitude to the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the cordial welcome and generous hospitality accorded to him in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and invited him to pay an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction and the date of the visit will be established through diplomatic channels.

FRELIMO PARTY DELEGATION VISIT REPORTED

AU272006 Sofia BTA in English 1923 GMT 27 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA) -- A delegation of the CC of the Frelimo Party, led by Mrs Rosalia Lumbela member of the CC and secretary of the Party's Province Committee in the Sofala Province was on a visit to Bulgaria -- November 21-27. The delegation was received by Mr Georgi Atanasov, secretary of the CC of the BCP. The guests from Mozambique had talks in the "Propanganda", "Science and Education", "Culture" and "Foreign Policy and International Relations" Departments of the CC of the BCP, in the party committees and organizations in Sofia, in the counties of Stara Zagora and Veliko Turnovo.

Today the delegation left the country.

NORWEGIAN CP DELEGATION DEPARTS 27 NOVEMBER

AU272003 Sofia BTA in English 1914 GMT 27 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA) -- A delegation of the CC of the Norwegian Communist Party, led by Arne Jorgensen, deputy-chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the party, editor in chief of the FRIHETEN Party organ, was on a one-week visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. The delegation was received by Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP. It had meetings and talks with the secretaries of the CC of the BCP Mr Dimitur Stanishev, Kiril Zarev and others. During the meeting which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, there were exchanged views on a wide range of topical international matters and of the international communist and workers' movement, as well as information of the BCP and the NCP' activity at the present stage.

The two parties expressed their deep concern over the straining of the tension and the aggravation of the international situation through the fault of the USA and their NATO allies, who have started the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in some Western European countries. They confirmed their common view that the most important and topical task at present is to ensure peace and to avert a thermonuclear war which would be a catastrophe for the whole planet. In this struggle an important role is played by the mighty peace movement; which is on the constant increase in all European countries and includes a great number of people. Both parties expressed their backing to the declaration of the secretary general of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr Yuriy Andropov, of November 24, this year, which is an expression of a historic responsibility and determination on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries not to allow a change in the existing approximate balance of the military forces, including the nuclear ones, to the advantage of imperialism which would pose a lethal danger over the peace and security of the peoples in Europe and in the world.

Both parties expressed their deep satisfaction with the talks they had. They gave high assessment to the relations between the BCP and the Norwegian Communist Party and expressed the two parties' mutual wish for these relations and fraternal cooperation to continue to develop actively in the future on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Today the delegation left Bulgaria.

NINTH CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION RESOLUTION

AU291526 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

["Resolution of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session"]

[Text] At its Ninth Session, held on 23-24 November 1983, the CPCZ Central Committee discussed and adopted the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's report on the international situation, which was submitted by Comrade Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary. It further discussed and adopted the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's report on the state plan of economic and social development for 1984, which was submitted by Comrade Svatopluk Potac, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

The CPCZ Central Committee states that the situation in the world is extremely tense, through the fault of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, above all American imperialism. Peace is being seriously threatened. In an endeavor to disrupt the military-strategic equilibrium and to achieve military supremacy over the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member-states, the militarist U.S. forces are undertaking further dangerous steps. Unprecedented feverish armament, particularly in the nuclear sphere; the expansion of the NATO bloc's influence; the slapping together of new aggressive blocs; the organization of subversive actions; and the gross and shameless meddling in the internal affairs of soverign states -- all this is meant to ensure American imperialism a dominant position in the world. The expansion of its military presence in various parts of the globe represents a threat for every country whose policy does not correspond to Washington's ideas.

The lengths to which the United States intends to go in its hatred for progress are tellingly shown by its brutal armed aggression against Grenada, by its direct military interference in Lebanon, and by its fanning of old and instigation of new conflict situations throughout the world.

A particularly dangerous situation is emerging in Europe. The United States and its allies in the NATO pact have already started deploying American intermediate-range missiles on the territories of certain West European countries. This merely proves that the United States has not been concerned with achieving an agreement based on equal rights, but has been interested in only one thing -- deploying American nuclear missiles on the borders of the socialist community at any price. American imperialism scorns the opinion of the absolute majority of the inhabitants of Western Europe, and even of the United States itself, who are clearly expressing their aversion to U.S. plans that threaten the security of European nations. For 2 whole years the Soviet Union has been submitting, at the Geneva negotiations, realistic constructive and far-reaching proposals for radically reducing nuclear arms -- proposals that the American side has totally ignored. The Soviet Union has reaffirmed that the purpose of its efforts, supported by the CSSR and by all European socialist states, is to eliminate all nuclear weapons from our continent -- both intermediate-range, and tactical ones.

The new American missiles in Western Europe represent a qualitatively new threat for the socialist countries, because they are intended to deliver a nuclear first strike. The Bundestag, which has given the green light to the deployment of American nuclear missiles on FRG territory by its vote, has thus taken a serious step which enhances the danger that a war conflagration could again flare up from German soil.

Czechoslovakia cannot view passively the fact that new American nuclear missile weapons are being deployed near our borders. The Czechoslovak people have learned enough from their turbulent history. They recall very well where the arms accumulation on the territory of their immediate Western neighbor before World War II led. In the interests of both ensuring our fatherland's security and the defense of the entire socialist community, and of preserving the balance of forces, the Czechoslovak Government, together with the USSR Government, decided to start preparatory work on Czechoslovakia's territory for deploying operational-tactical missile complexes.

The CPCZ Central Committee expresses the conviction that -- despite the complicated nature of the current situation -- possibilities exist for overcoming the current dangerous stage in the development of international relations, in the way the Soviet Union, the CSSR, and other countries of the socialist community are striving to achieve. This is proved by the results of the Madrid meeting on convening a conference on measures for confidence-building and disarmament in Europe. We are proceeding from the premise that the forces of peace and common sense, which have the fate and the very existence of mankind at heart, have become stronger today than the egotistical interests of those imperialist forces that would like to resolve the historical dispute between different social systems with the aid of nuclear arms. At the same time, the decisive thing is that the countries of the socialist community are unambiguously applying their entire political, economic, and military potential for the benefit of peace.

The joint effort of the Warsaw Pact member states was expressed in the Prague declaration of the January session of the Political Consultative Committee, and in the joint statement of top party and state figures of the socialist countries at their June meeting in Moscow.

Nevertheless, the governments of the NATO pact countries continue to remain deaf to all these initiatives and proposals of the socialist countries, particularly to the proposal on concluding a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states on the [illegible]use of military force and the preservation of peaceful relations.

In these circumstances our people, like the peoples of other countries, must show increased vigilance to the threat that is hanging over mankind. History will not forgive us for remaining indifferent and inactive. In close union and in mutual collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as with the communist, workers, and national-liberation movements, with the Nonaligned Movement, and with other revolutionary and democratic forces of the world, it is possible to avert a nuclear catastrophe and to succeed in defending peace. The Communist Party and our socialist state will contribute in every way toward this. This policy is fully in keeping with the 16th CPCZ Congress line.

We will continue to base all our plans and future prospects on friendship, alliance, and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. By jointly consolidating our defense capability, by deepening socialist economic integration, by coordinating foreign-political activities, by closely cooperating in all spheres, by strengthening fraternal ties, international unity, and the cohesion of our community, we will help to increase our joint strength and authority.

In the fight against the war threat we again express our solidarity and readiness to cooperate with all realistic forces in Western countries that realize -- as we do -- the seriousness of the situation, and that are resolved to do everything to make peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the peoples form the foundation of the further development of the world.

In the interests of strengthening the broad peace front we will develop cooperation with the peoples and with the progressive and democratic forces of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and we will support their fight for freedom, independence, and social progress and against imperialism and its meddling in their internal affairs.

We are fighting for a just cause. The struggle we are waging for peace and for averting the threat of a nuclear war, for saving human civilization, concerns everyone. Today it is not only the fate of the present generation, but also that of future generations, as well as their happy, peaceful future that is being decided on.

II

An important part of our struggle for peace is the further dynamic development of our national economy and the implementation of the social and economic program of the 16th party congress.

The Central Committee states that -- despite the unprecedented, complicated situation and the discriminatory measures of the capitalist states -- we are succeeding, in close cooperation with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular, in ensuring the dynamic development and smooth course of our national economy and in maintaining the achieved living standards and social guarantees of the people.

The Central Committee appreciates the fact that the initiative of workers and cooperative farmers, the increased activity of the party, of the management staff, and of social organizations, and the implementation of the improved system of planned management have all significantly contributed to this.

We are succeeding in ensuring the transition of our economy to the intensive path of development; in raising the effectiveness of production and the quality of work; in intensifying thrift; and in speeding up the dynamics of development, in spite of a lower consumption of raw materials, energy, other materials, direct manual labor. The decisive planned tasks will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, even though toward the end of the year it will be necessary to make an effort to maintain the current headstart in fulfilling the planned volume of production and adjusted added value. An improvement has been achieved in brown coal extraction and in the removal of the overburden, in agricultural production, and in the supplies of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the domestic market. The dynamics of the production of building materials is rising; the work of our transport system is improving; and general thrift and profitability are increasing. The balanced nature of our external economic relations with the socialist countries has been ensured; the planned assets in the trade balance with the nonsocialist countries have been achieved; and the debts in freely convertible currencies reduced.

However, side by side with the mostly positive, tendencies the development of our national economy continues to show certain shortcomings; in a number of instances these shortcomings have subjective causes. In order to overcome them we will have to be yet more emphatic in pushing through the intensification of the reproduction process, in implementing the findings of science and technology with greater speed, in raising the economy's export performance, in cutting down the excessive number of uncompleted construction projects, in preventing an excessive growth of stocks, in resolutely eliminating shortcomings in supplier-consignee relations, and in consistently keeping the growth of labor productivity and earnings harmonized. We must orient the activity of state and economic bodies, as well as the working people's initiative, toward effectively resolving these problems.

The state plan for the fourth year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan ensures the implementation of the strategic line adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress -- namely, the intensification of our national economy. The plan is aimed at enhancing efficiency through a more rapid implementation of the results of scientific-technical development. It orients production far more emphatically toward achieving the maximum savings and the maximum valorization of fuels, energy, and raw and other materials.

This makes it necessary to push through structural changes, and especially a more rapid development of selected progressive engineering productions, electronics, microelectronics, sophisticated [kvalifikovana] chemistry, and the timber-processing industry. These sectors must become the main bearers of the dynamics of national economic development. In the energy sphere we must be more consistent in ensuring the construction of nuclear power stations. In agricultural production we must see to the improvement and utilization of the land fund, and we must enforce the headstart of plant production against animal production and in this way strengthen our self-sufficiency in food production. In forestry we must devote greater care to our forests, and we must make better use of timber throughout our national economy.

It is also necessary to consistently fulfill the tasks that are aimed at deepening and broadening the integration of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labor with the CEMA countries.

The Central Committee regards it as an important task to ensure the development and the equilibrium of external economic relations with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries; to increase and to gain better value from exports to nonsocialist countries; and to further reduce debts in freely convertible currencies. This assumes that we achieve greater efficiency in our foreign trade and adopt measures for expanding our export funds, especially those from the processing industry. We must react more flexibly to the demands of the foreign market; we must emphatically improve the quality and technical standards of the exported commodities, of the deliveries of spare parts, and of servicing operations. In order to accomplish these tasks we need to deepen the cooperation between producers and foreign trade organizations to a far greater extent than to date; we need to improve the standards of commercial work and achieve a better correlation between export and import prices.

In capital construction we must concentrate attention on commissioning the planned facilities in the designed parameters in time; on cutting down the number of incomplete construction projects; on realizing modernization campaigns and reconstruction work; and on ensuring the tasks connected with the state target programs. All this requires that central and economic bodies improve the planning and management of the process of capital construction and the preparation of blueprints for the construction projects, as well as ensure deliveries to these projects in keeping with the stand adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the situation in the building industry and on its unpostponable tasks in fulfilling the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The pivotal goal of the 1984 plan is to maintain and continue to raise the achieved living standards as set by the 16th party congress. The Central Committee demands that our industry and agriculture, together with our trade, ensure better deliveries to the domestic market and consolidate its overall equilibrium, and -- by being more resolute in eliminating shortcomings in the ranges of products -- satisfy the population's demand in a better and more flexible manner. Likewise, the conclusions of the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee session must be consistently implemented in services paid for by the population. The improvement of the living environment must also receive all-round care.

The successful fulfillment of the tasks of our state plan places high demands on managerial and organizational work and requires a comprehensive implementation and further intensification of the improved system of planned management. Simultaneously we must be more resolute in realizing measures promoting scientific-technical progress, and measures for making capital construction and external economic relations more effective.

It is necessary to thoroughly intensify thrift; to prevent production losses; and to cut down the consumption of energy, raw materials, and investment and transport costs in our national economy. We must continue to develop rationalization efforts in conjunction with social inspections, which must ensure the desirable savings in fuels, energy, propellents, and raw and other materials. From this viewpoint we must start to utilize the secondary raw materials far better than we have to date. The cost-accounting [khozrascet] forms of work must be consistently applied in all places, and efforts to cut costs and ensure increased labor productivity must be developed. Through purposeful political-organizational and educational activity we must strengthen every working person's feeling of being a good economist in his place of work. We must intensify our efforts to reveal further reserves and to use them in the interests of the entire society. It is important to devote great attention to raising the technical standards and quality of products, and to substantially increasing the percentage of first-class products.

It is a political task of basic significance to develop the role of working collectives and to expand the working people's participation in production management. For this it is necessary to establish the necessary conditions; to ensure smooth, well-organized, good work; to see to the full utilization of working hours; and to consistently assert the socialist principles of remuneration. We must express more emphatically our appreciation when tasks are well accomplished and we must take measures affecting those who fail in their duties. The consolidation of state and working discipline on all management levels and in every working place must become a lasting and daily concern of the economic staff and of the party, trade union, and youth union bodies and organizations.

The CPCZ Central Committee places great emphasis on the consistent ensurance of tasks contained in the 1984 plan, and on the elaboration and regular fulfillment of these tasks by all ministries, economic production units, enterprises, plants, cooperatives, and national committees. The CPCZ Central Committee commits all party bodies and organizations, all communists in the governments, central bodies, national committees, social organizations, enterprises, and plants to carry out exacting monthly and quarterly checks on the plan fulfillment, in harmony with the demands and approaches anchored in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium resolution of 19 August 1983. For this it is necessary that the ministers and the leading staff of economic production units, enterprises, and organizations react flexibly to the emerging problems, and resolve them consistently and without procrastinations in comradely collaboration.

-- The intensifying struggle for maintaining peace throughout the world requires that every citizen approach yet more actively the consistent task fulfillment in all sectors of building our socialist fatherland. In order to ensure the economic-political goals of 1984, all workplaces must utilize the development of initiative and of socialist competition in honor of the approaching significant anniversaries.

The competing persons' attention must be primarily directed toward achieving a more emphatic growth of labor productivity; toward improving the quality of products; fulfilling the contract deliveries in time; implementing scientific-technical progress more speedily; making better use of the production facilities, raw materials, energy, and working hours; promoting all-round thrift and consolidating working discipline; developing the movement for desirable production over and above the plan with the use of conserved raw and other materials; and making greater use of counter-planning in this respect. Great care must be devoted to further developing the activities of comprehensive rationalization brigades, which are among the most significant creative forms of the working people's initiative.

The CPCZ Central Committee expects the leading economic staff, the party organizations, and the communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, the Union of Cooperative Farmers, the Scientific-Technical Society, and other social organizations to ensure the correct utilization of the working people's initiative in this direction.

The CPCZ Central Committee calls upon all communists to provide a personal example in fulfilling the tasks. It expects the party bodies and basic organizations, and all party members and candidate members to actively help every CSSR citizen to grasp that, by his honest, good work and by his social involvement, he is significantly contributing toward increasing the dynamics of the development and effectiveness of our national economy; toward maintaining the achieved living standards and social guarantees of the people; and also toward enhancing the strength of our socialist system and preserving world peace.

The CPCZ Central Committee requires the party bodies and organizations in all sectors to intensify their efforts and the efficiency of their work, and to ensure that the membership meetings of basic organizations at the beginning of 1984 take place in a creative and constructive spirit, in the sense of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's resolution of 14 October 1983. It expects the adoption of businesslike and specifically addressed resolutions on the main tasks to establish the necessary prerequisites for the working collectives to ensure both the fulfillment, and the socially desirable overfulfillment, of the plan for the fourth quarter of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The CPCZ Central Committee expresses the conviction that not only the communists, but all working people of our country will, by their devoted work, specific deeds, and creative activity in fulfilling the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, support the CPCZ's policy and efforts for ensuring the building of the advanced socialist society and the defense ability of our country. The stronger and more united our fatherland and the entire socialist community becomes, the firmer and clearer will the peace prospects become, and the more realistic will the hopes become to avert the threat of a nuclear war. We must do everything to save life in peace. War is not predestined. Peace must be successfully defended.

III

The CPCZ Central Committee approves:

1. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report on the current international situation, submitted by Comrade Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary.

2. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report on the state plan of the CSSR's economic and social development for 1984, submitted by Comrade Svatopluk Potac, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

3. The CPCZ's draft budget for 1984; and

4. The report on the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee's Presidium, Secretariat, and Commissions since the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Session in June 1983.

In keeping with the CPCZ statutes, the CPCZ Central Committee has released Comrade Eugen Turzo from membership in the CPCZ Central Committee in connection with his being elected to the function of deputy chairman of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission and to that of chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Slovak Communist Party.

Text of Chnoupek Speech

AU291320 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, at the discussions of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, held in Prague on 23 November]

[Text] The situation in the world, which Comrade Vasil Bilak analyzed in the Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the International Situation, has perhaps never before in the postwar period been exposed to tests as difficult as those of today. In the complicated search for answers to the complicated questions raised by the present time, we proceed, above all, from the tested principles of formulating our foreign-policy line -- from the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the everyday activity of the leadership of our party and our government, and the coordinated policy based on the conclusions of sessions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Affairs Ministers. In the past, and also under the present exacerbated situation, our policy has consistently pursued the strengthening of peace, detente, disarmament, and international cooperation. It is a policy, as Comrade G. Husak recently declared, for which there is no sound alternative under the conditions of the existence of nuclear arms. It is a policy, as was recently stressed by Comrade V.I. Andropov, that represents the unshakeable will of the CPSU and all Soviet people.

In examining the burning problems of the present, we take into account with the same care the forces operating at the other end of the world situation, especially the attempts of the U.S. Administration, which is to blame for the present tension, to achieve military supremacy and diktat over the world. One of the priorities of this policy is a frontal attack on the unity of the socialist countries, as Vice President George Bush recently openly defined it in Vienna.

The U.S. Administration spends much energy on systematically destroying even the little that is left from the mechanism of dialogue, on fomenting an unprecedented militaristic psychosis, and on raising military spending with the aim of imposing upon us the arms race -- evidently as the only form of contact -- to exhaust us, and to bring communism to its knees. The growing opposition to this policy in Western Europe, especially in the shape of the peace movement, has become an important political factor despite assertions by leading officials of these countries that the street will not decide for them. However, this policy has elicited disenchantment even among the loyal class allies of the United States. And Grenada, this latest example of international terrorism and acts of subversion being elevated to state policy, has increased this opposition of U.S. allies to the United States to a real crisis of confidence.

Where do we go from here? All forecasts for the rest of the eighties, and they are not few, refer to an inflation of forces and factors that are in the game and, basically, make it impossible to predict developments. Nevertheless, they do have some common denominators. Above all, they warn: While it has been possible so far to rely on international cold spells alternating with warmer periods, today -- in the nuclear age when international relations lack the necessary contingency reserve of stability -- we can no longer automatically rely on these stereotype cycles.

They caution: If Soviet-American relations do not become more stable and equitable -- and, given the policy of the current U.S. Administration, they will hardly develop in this manner -- a stage could set in in which it will be difficult to find ways out of the vicious circle of growing tension.

They predict: When the deployment of missiles in Western Europe takes place, a totally new, qualitatively different military-strategic and political situation will arise.

They assume: In the event of such an escalation of international tension, the deformed and unstable nature of international economic relations will even be deepened.

And, finally, they conclude: Should the infrastructures of power relations within imperialism be affected as deeply by negative tendencies -- that is, to put it flatly, should the least favorable alternative become reality -- the situation would require a new, profoundly scientific analysis and the formulation of new political-strategic approaches.

So much for forecasts. In spite of the forecasts, one thing is clear -- that life does not end with the year 1983, nor with the deployment of missiles. The world will continue to exist. Possibilities for overcoming the dangerous stage will obviously exist -- maybe to a limited extent, but they will exist -- and it will be necessary to use them. Not from defensive positions, by passively watching from trenches new attempts at achieving supremacy over us, by approaching in a fatalistic manner the problem of the inevitability of the irreversible course of events preceding the outbreak of war. Not from the position of the weaker one, but by asserting offensively and with sufficient emphasis our policy and our proposals. This applies, above all, to the proposed treaty on refraining from the use of military force between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO that is contained in the Prague Political Declaration. We will continue to explain and propagate all our proposals and rally around them a united, broad front of antiwar forces.

We will also apply these approaches at the international forums that elaborate the conclusions of the Helsinki conference. This applies, in particular, to the Stockholm conference, the first-ever all-European disarmament forum in the history of our old continent. We welcome the convening of this conference. However, we do not overestimate its importance. As regards the recently concluded preparatory meeting in Finland, we continue to believe that the crucial thing will be to demonstrate -- just as in Madrid some time ago -- that the European states do not intend to abandon the process of cooperation. Only in this way will it be possible to establish prerequisites for expanding the policy of detente to the military sphere.

Through a creative and resourceful search for effective forms, we intend to actively further develop our relations with states having different social systems, wherever there is no lack of readiness and political will.

We cannot be silent about the Bundestag's giving, in fact, the green light to the missile deployment and thus taking a serious step increasing the danger that a war conflagration might once again flare up from German soil. We must be resolute enough on the issue of security. History would never forgive us if we hesitated.

The reaction of the West to our measures for deploying operational-tactical missile complexes has been, one could say, varied. At any rate, no one doubts any longer today that we are determined to do all that is necessary to reinforce our own defensive capability. And no one has the right to hope that we are not entitled to do so and capable of doing so for our own security. We are not naive. We have our experience. We know that the imperialists have always ventured to act only against someone weak. Look at Grenada. They will not venture to act against anyone who is equally strong, well-prepared, and vigilant.

The forthcoming stage of the struggle for peace and disarmament and against nuclear confrontation is likely to be demanding, very demanding on our political, ideological, and diplomatic work. However, we will not enter this stage empty-handed.

We will capitalize on basic certainties for which we have laid foundations -- our friendship with the majority of Asian, African, and Latin American countries; interaction with the countries of the Nonaligned Movement; the recognized partnership with a number of capitalist countries in implementing the policy of detente and cooperation; and our activity in international organizations, especially at the UN -- in the Security Council, as a co-chairman of the current General Assembly, or in the form of our spontaneously adopted Declaration on International Cooperation for Attaining the Goals of Disarmament.

Our most valuable asset is our alliance with the large family of socialist countries in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. The constant strengthening of this unity and cohesion, care for their harmony, systematic development of mutual relations, heading off everything that could disturb them, and a consistent coordination of foreign policy steps -- these continue to be the paramount tasks of our class, principled, and internationalist policy. They are our answer to the attempts of imperialism to break this monolith by means of a differentiated attack. We are particularly proud of our friendship and ties of alliance with the Soviet Union. Today these ties are on the highest level that has ever been registered in the history of our mutual relations. They are a guarantee of our certainties. The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which constantly strives for peace, and the strength of the Soviet Union, which is capable of facing up to any imperialist threat, represent the sources from which we draw the strong feeling of certainty that the future does not have to be seen only in dark colors, that it is not necessary to dramatically yield to pessimism, but that it is possible to look to the future with the justified optimism that, as we are deeply convinced, it will belong to peace and progress. I would like to assure you that the Czechoslovak Foreign Service Staff, at home as well as in the 112 diplomatic missions abroad, will honorably cope with the demanding tasks laid down by the party.

CPSL SUPPORTS DEVELOPMENT OF MISSILE COMPLEXES

LD010013 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee has approved the following resolution:

At the close of its deliberations today, the CPSL Central Committee -- taking into account the results of the 9th session of the CPCZ Central Committee -- adopted a resolution in which it assessed the results achieved in the economic and social development during 1981-1983, and discussed the tasks of the state operational plan of the development of the Slovak economy for 1984. The CPSL Central Committee expresses its full support for the resolution of the 9th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and notes that the results achieved in the development of the Czechoslovak national economy in the first 3 years of the 7th 5-Year Plan show that despite the more demanding economic conditions, on the whole it has been possible to meet the goals laid down. The increased demands involved in ensuring the fulfillment of the socioeconomic program of the party are also inevitable because of the current, exceptionally sharpened, international political situation, which has evolved as a result of the adventurous policy of the present U.S. Government and its allies.

The CPSL Central Committee, taking into account the desires and conviction of the entire nation -- determined not to allow a crime against mankind, a crime that can never be put right, to happen -- expresses its full agreement with the statement of the Federal Government and the stance of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of 24 October 1983 concerning an agreement between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union on starting preparatory work for the development of operational-tactical missile complexes as an inevitable answer to the global hegemonistic ambitions of the most aggressive circles of the United States and NATO.

We fully support the statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yuriy Andropov of 24 November 1983, which we see as the only possible guarantee of preserving the peaceful conditions of the construction work of our people and the security of our nations.

In the next part, the resolution underlines the need to permanently raise the participation of Slovakia in improving the external economic relations balance of our entire state. Apart from increasing the volume of exports, foremost attention must be paid to changing the structure of export supplies to the advantage of the branches of the processing industries. We must increase the volume of production on the basis of specialization and cooperation. In the interest of ensuring the necessary imports, particularly those from nonsocialist states, it is necessary to solve problems connected with the effectiveness of exports. We must more emphatically increase the proportion of products of first-class quality and products with high technological and economic standards, and more speedily implement innovation in the production process.

The tasks designed to maintain and further improve the standards of living already achieved, as laid down by the program of the 16th congress of the party and the resolution of the CPSL, constitute the basic goal of the plan for 1984. This requires ensuring smooth supplies of the home market with quality products of the required quantity and variety. Trade and the national committees must make a greater contribution to more fully satisfy the populati[illegible]egarding the supplies of products and services to organizations.

The CPSL Central Committee expects that all working collectives will use the opportunity provided by the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our country for a broad development of the initiative and activity of the working people. The Central Committee expects that Communists; state, economic, and social organizations; working collectives; and all citizens through their committed, courageous, and responsible work, will make every effort toward fulfilling the plan for 1984 and thus make an effective contribution to the further development of our socialist society and the preservation of world peace.

At the close of its deliberations, the CPSL Central Committee approves: the report on the state plan of the economic and social development of Slovak for 1984; the report of the activity of the Presidium, Secretariat and commissions since the previous session held in September 1983; the draft budget of the CPSL for 1984.

The CPSL Central Committee acknowledges the political-organizational approach of the CPCZ Central Committee in ensuring the results of the 9th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The party press will carry a more detailed version of the final resolution tomorrow.

Economic Draft Plan

LD301823 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] A draft state plan of economic and social development of the Slovak Socialist Republic for next year is being discussed by the CPSL Central Committee in Bratislava. The session is attended by Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The session was opened and is chaired by Jozef Lenart, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

After the election of working commissions, a report of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee on the state plan of economic and social development of Slovakia for 1984 was delivered by Karol Martinka, deputy Slovak premier and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission.

In its introduction, he stressed that this year's growth of national income in the Slovak economy is expected to be 3 percent with a considerably smaller -- 1 to 1/2 percent -- increase of utilized power and material resources. The overall positive character, however, does not mean that the lasting shortcomings have been overcome in every sector. This is valid, above all, for the flow adaptation of production to the structure of both foreign and domestic demand.

Comrade Karol Martinka went on to characterize the main directions of the orientation of the effort of the entire party, state, and economic sphere next year. These include, above all, accelerated dynamism of development, safeguarding the creation of material means, more efficient use of scientific-technological development, and focusing economic growth on more efficient use of natural economic conditions. We assume, he went on to say, that the volume of the social product will increase next year in comparison with this year's expected level by 3.2 percent, and there will be faster growth in the creation of national income by 4.2 percent. This acceleration of the rate is to be achieved by a marked increase of industrial production.

The key task of agriculture is to achieve the production of 3.8 million tons of cereal crops and to produce the necessary amount of high-quality fodder. The achievement of the set consumption of meat and other animal produce immediately depends on this. Among topical issues are increasing the intensity of sugar-beet cultivation and diminishing losses.

Investment policy respects the inevitability of the limitations on the use of national income in investment construction. Therefore, concurrently with the main aim in the sphere of the living standard, the balance of foreign economic relations might be strengthened, indebtedness might be gradually lowered, ecological problems might be tackled, and the state's defense ability might be inevitably strengthened.

The results of the 3 years of the 5-year period and the suggested basic parameters of the plan for next year demonstrate that the current economic and social development as a whole corresponds to the resolutions set by the 16th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL congress, said Karol Martinka, deputy Slovak premier and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission, in concluding the report of the CPSL Central Committee on the state plan of economic and social development of Slovakia for next year.

Lenart Closing Speech

LD010018 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] The closing speech at the session of the CPSL Central Committee was delivered by Comrade Jozef Lenart. He said that the CPSL Central Committee had identified itself with the assessment of the results of the realization of the national economic plan for 1983 made by the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee, and with the goals and tasks of the state plan of Czechoslovakia for 1984. Likewise, the CPSL Central Committee had identified itself with the content of the report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on the current international situation, and unanimously supported the principled stance and approach of the CPCZ central Committee and the Federal Government, including measures that were being carried out in the interest of the protection and security of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

EC 'DISCRIMINATION' BLAMED FOR STAGNATION

AU261657 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 83 p 6

[Petr Augustin article : "Our Endeavor to Maintain a Dialogue; Trade-Political Relations Between the CSSR and the European Economic Community" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH WESTERN JOURNALISTS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCLES, WE HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY COMING ACROSS THE VIEW THAT, IN ITS TRADE POLICY, THE CSSR IS TRYING TO DIMINISH ITS ECONOMIC CONTACTS WITH THE WEST IN FAVOR OF CONTACTS WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THESE ASSERTIONS ARE BEING REPEATED MORE AND MORE OFTEN, WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL TO DEMONSTRATE, USING THE EXAMPLE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC), THE LARGEST COMMERCIAL PARTNER OF THE CSSR AMONG ADVANCED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, THE TRUE BACKGROUND OF THE STAGNATION OF CZECHOSLOVAK TRADE TURNOVER WITH THIS COMMUNITY, WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR 60 PERCENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S TRADE WITH ADVANCED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

Trade-political problems of a serious nature between the CSSR and the EC began to crop up after 1974 when, upon the initiative of EC member-countries, their bilateral trade agreements with the CSSR, which were a stable and reciprocally beneficial basis for mutual economic relations, were rescinded. The reason for this step was the transfer of national powers in trade policy matters to EC agencies. At the end of 1974 the EC's main agency, the EC Commission, made a real offer to the CSSR, as well as to the other CEMA member-countries, to conclude a trade agreement. However, the terms of this offer were deliberately unacceptable. In contrast to the agreements with the EC member-countries concluded before 1974, which included the principle of nondiscrimination, the new offer was based on the principle of so-called effective reciprocity.

The principle of effective reciprocity can be described as follows: In the case of the conclusion of a trade agreement, the EC would expand the potential scope for Czechoslovak exports by increasing existing quotas or by means of other limited forms of liberalization of imports from the CSSR. However, as a counter-concession it would demand the CSSR's commitment to annually increase its imports from EC countries, by either a fixed percentage or a fixed amount. The disadvantageous nature of this offer is self-evident. By accepting it, the CSSR would create for itself a dangerous precedent because this offer is worse than the CSSR's status as a founding member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Participation in GATT ensures for the CSSR the principle of nondiscrimination by all contracting parties, with the exception of the United States, which, since the fifties, has been grossly violating this principle.

Methods of Trade Limitation

After 1974, an exceedingly unfavorable situation was created for the CSSR. The EC member-countries did not carry out the promised liberalization of imports from the CSSR and the existing restrictions were "inherited" by the EC. These quantitative restrictions are a limiting factor for Czechoslovak exports of metallurgical materials, textiles, glass, china, ceramics, footwear, some chemical products, automobiles, furniture, electric motors, and a number of other products whose export is of interest to the CSSR. Moreover, a great part of these restrictions is expressed in the currencies of the EC member-countries, most of which have gone through extraordinary rapid inflation. This has even depreciated the existing quota.

However, even this protection of its market against Czechoslovakia, which has a population of only 15 million, did not seem adequate to this trade-political giant with a population of 250 million.

One by one, Czechoslovakia was forced to agree to self-restriction agreements in the sphere of the export of metallurgical products and textiles. Particularly limiting for the CSSR is the self-restriction agreement on exports on Czechoslovak metallurgical products to some EC member-countries that have been their traditional market. This is particularly striking in the case of Britain, but also in the case of France. The EC member-countries are annually reducing the agreed quota and thus diminishing Czechoslovakia's possibilities to export one of its key export articles.

Another striking manifestation of the increasing discrimination against Czechoslovak exports is the excessive abuse of anti-dumping procedures against the CSSR. By applying these procedures, the EC wants to prove that Czechoslovak exports jeopardize the existence of some production in the EC. In the 1980-1982 period, the EC achieved a remarkable result in this respect. Regarding the number of newly initiated anti-dumping procedures, the CSSR was second only to the United States. According to the EC, the CSSR is thus the second largest threat to the normal functioning of the EC countries' economy, preceded only by the United States. In view of these facts, the arguments of the responsible circles in the EC to the effect that the anti-dumping procedures are applied for purely economic reasons limp on both feet, especially when we consider that the third place in these statistics, after the United States and the CSSR, is held by another socialist country -- the GDR.

On the one hand, there is thus an increasingly restrictive approach toward the CSSR and other socialist countries, and on the other, an open-door-policy vis-a-vis West European countries that are not EC members and the countries of the Mediterranean. The EC has set up with these countries a zone for free trading in industrial products, which are flowing to the EC countries with virtually no quantitative or tariff restrictions. It is a generally known fact that trade within duty-free zones is developing comparably faster than trade with countries that have to overcome tarriff and other barriers.

These examples show that THE EC S TRADE POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE CSSR IS OF A DISTINCTLY CLASS NATURE AND A VERY IMPORTANT POLITICAL INSTRUMENT. By means of this policy the EC artificially hampers more than 20 percent of Czechoslovak exports and this percentage is steadily on the rise. The aforementioned antidumping procedures have become a particularly effective and dangerous instrument. By applying them, the EC is able to eliminate within a short period of time specific Czechoslovak commodities either partially or completely from its market.

Pressure Methods

The bilateral negotiations between the CSSR and the EC are all accompanied by pressure methods. This is typical, for instance, of the negotiations on the export of Czechoslovak metallurgical materials. The situation is so acute that even before the bilateral negotiations themselves take place, the EC bodies determine by how much the scope for Czechoslovak exports will be cut. The Czechoslovak delegation is then given to understand that, should it not accept such terms, Czechoslovak merchants will be eliminated from the market by other means.

Characteristic of the approach of the EC and its member-countries toward the CSSR is also their TRADE-POLITICAL ALIBIISM [ALIBISMUS]. Whenever the Czechoslovak side comes up with a demand to expand the scope for the export of some Czechoslovak product and addresses this demand to EC bodies, it receives the reply that the member-country must agree to this. However, the member-country concerned usually uses the excuse that trade policy is no longer within its authority, but within the authority of EC bodies. It is obvious that this is no coincidence but a well-thought-out system of hampering Czechoslovak exports.

The CSSR has not been spared anything in the sensitive fiscal sphere either. Last year, without any previous consultations, it was transferred by the Western countries, including the EC, to the least beneficial group of credit terms for loans provided by Western countries. It shared this fate with the USSR and the GDR.

Although the EC acts as a unified whole in trade-political affairs, there are visible differences in the member-countries' approach to Czechoslovak export interests. The relatively most liberal approach to Czechoslovak exports is that of Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, the FRG, and Luxembourg. On the other hand, GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT ALSO ITALY APPROACH HIGHLY SENSITIVE CZECHOSLOVAK EXPORTS IN A RESTRICTIVE FASHION.

Despite this approach of the EC to the trade interests and, above all, the rights of the CSSR that ensue from its status as a founding contracting party to GATT, Czechoslovak trade policy is not losing its evenhandedness and seeks a fair dialogue with the EC. It strives to understand the existing economic difficulties of the capitalist world and the EC -- which lags behind the United States and Japan, especially in technology -- but it is not ready to accept the argument that the CSSR, as a country that does not account for even 1 percent of the EC's trade, jeopardizes the economy of the EC countries and that, therefore, Czechoslovak exports must be restricted.

Czechoslovak trade policy seeks a normalization in our relations with the EC, even though this community discriminates against Czechoslovak exports, makes them more difficult, and seeks their reduction. This year, the CSSR has intensified its endeavor to improve the trade-political situation in its relations with the EC. A great deal will now depend on how this organization and its member-countries will proceed in the course of the forthcoming negotiations, which should take place before the end of the year. This will test whether the EC is sincere about its endeavor to develop trade with the CSSR in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act or whether it will intensify its protectionism vis-a-vis its smaller partners, and the socialist partners in particular, in light of the fact that it is itself forced to yield to the protectionism and trade-political aggressivenessof the United States.

COLOTKA HOLDS BONN TALKS WITH PARTY OFFICIALS

LD292222 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Nov 83

[Text] Our permanent correspondent in Bonn, Frantisek Vonderka, reports on the course of today's activities of deputy federal premier and Slovak premier, Peter Colotka, in the FRG:

Comrade Colotka met in Bonn today with Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, and also the chairmen of two biggest parliamentary groups in the Bundestag, Alfred Dregger for the governmental CDU-CSU alliance and Hans-Jochen Vogel for the opposition SPD party.

During the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of propriety [korektni atmosfere] an exchange of views took place on bilateral relations and also on current world developments from which the relations between the two states cannot be separated. The Czechoslovak side noted that the current situation in Europe and in the world is very tense. The cause of increased tension is the beginning of deployment of the new U.S. offensive nuclear Pershing II and cruise missiles, an act to which theWarsaw Pact states are forced to respond -- in the interest of their own security and maintenance of the military balance -- with measures in the sphere of defense. Czechoslovakia, as was stressed during the talks, is interested in the development of good-neighborly relations with the FRG and positively evaluates the results attained in this sphere since the signing of the mutual agreement in December 1973.

Czechoslovakia therefore finds it necessary in this tense international situation to contribute to the elucidation of views and to finding ways to maintain and strengthen peace. Comrade Colotka conveyed the concern of Czechoslovakia over the unfavorable consequences of deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in the FRG and pointed to the responsibility of influential political forces in Bonn not to further sharpen the tensions created by this.

West German politicians at the talks reacted to the Czechoslovak standpoints in the spirit of the positions adopted by their party in the recent Bundestag discussion in which the governmental CDU-CSU alliance called for the deployment of the missiles, while the opposition SPD party rejected this step, describing it as dangerous for peace.

In the afternoon, Comrade Colotka was received by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister.

Meets Lambsdorff, KPD Officials

LD010315 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Peter Colotka, deputy federal premier and Slovak premier, continued his visit to the FRG today. Frantisek Vonderka, our correspondent, reports:

This morning, Comrade Colotka met the representatives of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD], the head of the International Department of the Presidium of the Party, Guenter Sieber, and Presidium member Gustav Trambowski.

During the talks, which were marked by cordiality and agreement on all issues under discussion, it was stated that the aggressive circles of NATO are responsible for worsening the situation in Europe and the world, and are also fully responsible for the possible consequences of their aggressive policy. In particular, the beginning of deployment of new U.S. offensive nuclear missiles in Europe is an attack against detente and good relations with countries of the socialist community. West German comrades said that the right-wing governmental coalition CDU-CSU-FDP in Bonn which agreed with the deployment of these offensive weapons has done so agianst the will of the majority of the population, and it was guided more by orders from Washington than by the FRG's vital interests.

Both sides agreed that today's main task is to fight for strengthening peace and against further escalating tension. The leading force in this struggle are the states of the socialist community headed by the USSR.

West German comrades discussed the work of the DPD in fighting for peace and social progress. They also spoke about preparations for the congress which will take place in Nuremberg at the end of January.

Comrade Colotka also met Petra Kelly, Otto Schily, and other representatives of the parliamentary group of the Green Party in the Bundestag today. This talk, the first official contact of its type, contributed to mutual acquaintance and to explaining the views of the two parties on important problems.

In the afternoon, Comrade Colotka met Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the parliamentary group of the FDP, and the Federal Minister of Economy Otto Lambsdorff. In these talks, views were exchanged on bilateral issues. During the talks Comrade Colotka conveyed the principled stance of Czechoslovakia, the aim being to do its utmost to avert the threat of war.

HONECKER, HUNGARY'S JANOS KADAR HOLD TALKS

More on Kadar's Arrival

LD301102 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 30 Nov (ADN) -- Janos Kadar was fraternally welcomed at Berlin's eastern train station by Erich Honecher. Janos Kadar, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and other MSZMP personalities, were also welcomed at the Hungarian State Railways' special train by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee. The guest was invited by Erich Honecker for a 1-day meeting in Berlin. Workers of the GDR capital gave the representatives of the two fraternal parties a cordial reception in the station foyer and outside the station.

Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar have begun their talks this morning in Schloss Niederschoenhausen.

U.S. Missiles Discussed

LD301741 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin 30 Nov (ADN) -- A meeting took place in the GDR capital, Berlin, today between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Erich Honecker cordially welcomed his guest this morning at Berlin's Ostbahnhof. Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee, and other GDR figures were present to welcome him.

From the Ostahnhof, outside which hundreds of workers cheered the two party leaders, Erich Honecker accompanied his guest to Schloss Niederschoenhausen, where talks were held.

The talks concentrated on questions of socialist development in the two countries and the further deepening of cooperation between the two parties and states. In their discussion of the international situation, particular attention was devoted to the tasks in the joint struggle to implement the peace policy of the community of socialist states. The talks were held in the spirit of fraternal friendship and agreement between the two fraternal parties and states.

Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar noted that strengthening the close cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is of great importance. This benefits the two peoples and helps to consolidate the unity and cooperation of the socialist community, which is a decisive factor of peace and international stability. The party and state leaders strongly stressed that the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic, in alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal states, will do everything necessary to continue to strengthen the power and defense capability of socialism. This is particularly urgent in view of the deployment of new U.S. policy of arms buildup and confrontation and which introduces a new round in the arms race.

Both sides stressed the need for appropriate measures to protect securely the achievements of socialism and to preserve peace. They expressed their conviction that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, even in this changed situation, and stressed the topicality of the constructive proposals by the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, aimed at peace and security.

Erich Honecker gave a dinner in honor of Janos Kadar in the main hall of Niederschoenhausen. Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, and other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo were present.

In toasts Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar praised the high level of fraternal relations between the SED and the MSZMP, the GDR and the Hungarian People republic. They expressed their satisfaction with their successful talks.

Following the conclusion of the talks, Janos Kadar started his return journey this evening. He was given a cordial farewell at the Ostbahnhof by Erich Honecker. A communique was published on the results of the meeting.

Honecker Receives Award

LD301916 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, November 30 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar presented the diamond studded Order of the Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic to Erich Honecker in Berlin Wednesday [30 November].

The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic awarded the honour of Erich Honecker on his 70th birthday, in recognition of his work for the prosperity of the first worker-peasant German state, in the international communist and workers' movement, his successful internationalist activity in the community of the socialist countries, and outstanding merits in strengthening the relations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

"It is a great honour for me to present this award to a person I have known and respected for a great number of years and with whom I have been united by joint work for the same targets," stated Janos Kadar and congratulated Erich Honecker on behalf of the HSWP Central Committee, and the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. He wished him strenth, health and further successful work for the prosperity of the Socialist German Democratic Republic and in the service of the common cause, socialism and peace.

Janos Kadar stressed: "The Hungarian people know and highly appreciate the excellent results that the people of the German Democratic Republic, led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has achieved in the construction of socialist society. The establishment and development of the first worker-peasant state in the native land of Marx and Engels is an important factor in European history after World War 2. The German Democratic Republic, which is situated on the border of the two world systems and follows socialist development, plays an important part in the safeguarding of peace and security and the struggle for the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems."

"These results, the development of the German Democratic Republic, and its principled international activity are inseparable from the name of Erich Honecker, who has never spared any (?effort) at the helm of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in a high state post. We respect you as the faithful son of the German working class, the brave anti-fascist and the resolute fighter of the implementation of communist ideas, who serves his people, party and the cause of international communism. We highly appreciate your resolute work for the strengthening of the unity of our communist [words indistinct] international communist and workers' movement.

"In the present tense international situation, the initiatives which you have also taken, in accordance with the peace efforts of the socialist community for the protection of peace on our continent and the world, and the safeguarding of the achievements of detente, are of prime importance.

"We respect you as the real friend of our party and people, who continues to do a great deal for the cooperation, further development of our countries and the strenghtening of the friendship of our peoples. Our meetings, including our talks this morning, prove that the relations of our parties, countries and peoples are characterized by internationalist fraternal friendship and by increasing and fruitful cooperation that ranges over all walks of life. We are convinced that the furtherance of our traditionally good relations well serves the interest of our peoples, the strengthening of the unity of the socialist community, and the universal cause of peace," said Janos Kadar.

Kadar Ends Visit

LD302232 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Janos Kadar has concluded his 1-day visit to Berlin and has left for home. Listen to our Berlin correspondent Gabor Nemes summing up the discussions of the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee:

[Nemes] After his brief, 1-day visit of friendship Janos Kadar tonight left Berlin, the capital of the GDR. At the station he was seen off by his host Erich Honecker, with whom in the course of the day he had held intensive discussions. Prior to his departure Janos Kadar described as useful and effective the discussions packed into the tight schedule, in the course of which there was a possibility to review Hungarian-GDR relations, which are developing well, and to examine the concrete possibilities of the policy of detente, which was today considered by both sides are being of priority importance, this naturally under the altered conditions. The special train of the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee left for Budapest at precisely 2000 tonight. A joint communique on the Berlin discussions was issued in both capitals.

Report on Communique

LD301919 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 30 Nov (ADN) -- Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar noted with concern that the international situation has been put under severe strain as a result of the policy of confrontation pursued by extremist circles of imperialism. This is noted in a communique published this evening on the meeting in Berlin between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

They regard the striving of the United States and NATO to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist states by stepping up their arms drive as being particularly dangerous. The deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe is leading to a substantial threat to peace and the security of our continent, burdening relations between socialist and capitalist states, and hindering efforts to achieve arms limitation and disarmament. THe two sides expressed their conviction that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, even under the changed conditions in East-West relations, and stressed that they will do everything possible to avert the threat of a nuclear war.

The representatives of the two parties praised the Soviet Union's consistent policy of peace, and its concrete and constructive initiatives, which are aimed at preventing a further accumulation of destructive weapons. They condemned the attitude of the United States which prevented agreement being reached at the Geneva talks on reducing nuclear medium-range weapons. They drew attention to the responsibility borne by the government of the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy by their allowing the deployment of U.S. weapons in their countries.

They reiterated the importance of a coordinated stand on the part of the Warsaw Pact member states in the international arena and stressed the importance of developing cooperation with the states of the socialist community. They also pointed out that the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic are utilizing every opportunity in international relations to contribute actively toward implementing the peace policy of the community of socialist states and to the joint aims set out in the January 1983 Prague Declaration and the June 1983 Moscow Declaration.

Both sides stressed that the strength of the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states, the further strengthening of its defense capability, and the preservation of the military balance of power between the Warsaw Pact and NATO are the fundamental prerequisites for preserving world peace.

The representatives of the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic stressed the topicality of the Warsaw Pact states' proposals aimed at limiting and reducing armed forces and arms, particularly nuclear weapons, on the basis of equality and equal security. They regard it as particularly important for all nuclear powers to undertake the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, as done by the USSR.

Both sides expressed the urgent expectation that the NATO states will react constructively to the peace initiative of the countries of the socialist community, primarily to the proposal that a treaty be concluded on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This step would help to defuse the tense international situation. They expressed their conviction that even in the present complicated situation there remains a possibility of overcoming the dangerous tendencies in international relations, of creating a balance of forces at a lower level of arms, and of settling all disputes by negotiations.

They affirmed their solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the struggle for the consolidation of independence, against neocolonialism and racism. They condemned the actions of imperialism in the Middle and Near East and the further broadening of interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon, and spoke out for the just political settlement of the problems of the region. They demanded an immediate end to U.S. aggression against Grenada and to the military threat to Nicaragua.

They noted with satisfaction that the fraternal relations between the SED and the MSZMP, and between the GDR and Hungary are developing well in all spheres. They stressed that the deepening of close cooperation between both states, in line with the 1977 Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty and based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is of particular importance. This is in the interests of both peoples and at the same time contributes to the strengthening of unity and cooperation in the socialist community.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 37th CEMA session it was stressed that the GDR and Hungary are interested in the advancement of the process of deepening socialist economic integration, to which they will continue to actively contribute.

The meeting between Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar passed in an atmosphere of traditional friendship, mutual respect, and shared understanding.

EGYPTIAN STATE MINISTER GHALI ENDS VISIT

LD3O1627 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin 30 Nov (ADN) -- Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign affairs Dr Butrus Ghali ended his visit of several days to the GDR today.

The guest and his entourage were seen off from Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

Leading members of the GDR Foreign Ministry were there to see off the politician. Also present were the GDR ambassador to Egypt Hans-Juergen Weitz and Egyptian ambassador to the GDR Salah ad-Din Muhammad Ash-Sha'rawi.

Minister of State Dr Butrus Ghali told journalists prior to his departure from Berlin that he thanked the GDR Government and people for the hospitality he had been shown. He was very impressed by his visit to the GDR. The Egyptian politician said his meeting with General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker was an important one. His talks with Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Minister of Heavy Engineering and Plant Construction Rolf Kersten were very positive and constructive.

BEIL MEETS BRITISH TRADE UNDER SECRETARY

AU252023 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 83 p 2

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN) -- On Wednesday Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers and state secretary, received for an exchange of views Peter M.S. Corley, under secretary of state in the British Ministry for Trade and Industry.

Both partners in the talks stressed the importance of the "Program on the Further Development of Economic Cooperation," signed between the two countries at the 1983 Leipzig Spring Fair, to intensify economic relations. Proceeding from the results achieved so far in implementing this program they discussed further possibilities of expanding economic cooperation between the two countries. The talk was attended by Peter Malcolm Maxey, ambassador of Great Britain to the GDR.

HOFFMANN SPEAKS AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU301041 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Nov 83 p 9

["From the discussion speech" of Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Politburo member and GDR Minister of national defense, at the seventh SED Central Committee session on 24 November]

[Text] Dear comrades: The Politburo report delivered by Comrade Werner Felfe shows in a most impressive way that is understandable for everyone that our party is implementing with great consistency and purposefulness the decisions of the 10th party congress, that all its endeavors are aimed at safeguarding peace and at strengthening socialism.

I am sure that the party organizations -- including the party members and candidate members in the National People's Army [NVA] and the border troops -- will well understand and appreciate this continuity of our policy, the continuation of the unity of economic and social policy in strengthening socialism, in raising the material and cultural living standard of the working people, and in safeguarding their peaceful future.

The stronger socialism is, the more secure peace is! This historical truth has been understood by our comrades, and they are acting accordingly. They know that the Central Committee, its Politburo, and the general secretary personally and unwaveringly pursue this Marxist-Leninist policy, and that in so doing they combine strategic far-sightedness with tactical flexibility, and that in particular Comrade Erich Honecker is taking upon himself a great task in working out and implementing our policy for safeguarding peace and in elucidating this policy to numerous leading political figures of capitalist states.

The Reputation of the NVA Has Further Grown

Comrades, in the past few weeks we have evaluated the work of the 1982/83 training year in all parts of the NVA forces and in the GDR Border Troops. For the most part we found good and very good performances of our army members, border soldiers, and civilian employees in resolving the political, military and economic tasks, in combat service, and in combat training. The tasks in the Duty System, in safeguarding the state border, and in the civil defense sector were reliably fulfilled.

The troop and command staff exercises testified to the increased fighting strength and combat readiness of the units and groups of units of our Army, to a higher level of the work of our leadership organs, and to a more exact cooperation with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the united armed forces. The state borders and the airspace of the GDR were at all times reliably protected. All provocations and attacks against our national defense were foiled.

The cooperation between the NVA, the border troops, and the other protection and security organs, the party and state apparatus and the enterprises and educational institutions of the GDR was purposefully further developed. This also influenced socialist defense education, the premilitary training, and the training for civil defense tasks. The reputation of the NVA as part of the united armed forces has undoubtedly grown, which was shown once more only recently at the extraordinary meeting of the Defense Ministers' Committee in Berlin.

Respect and recognition were also won by the forces of our Army that were given assignments in the national economy. Wherever they are active, be it the Mukran port construction, the natural gas pipeline, in the coal sector, in the electrification of the Reichsbahn, on Berlin building sites or in agriculture -- everywhere they contribute by their exemplary working performance to strengthening our republic and to consolidating the affinity between the people and the Army.

The GDR working people as well as our comrades in arms know that the members of the NVA and of the border troops are doing everything in their power to protect socialism and peace in the heart of Europe.

Shoulder to shoulder with the comrades in arms of the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact they will continue to fulfill the military class assignment of the 10th party congress, the decisions of the Central Committee to strengthen our national defense! The required orders and directives for the coming training year have been issued. In the party elections the comrades are at present discussing how they can lead the way in solving the military tasks, how they can carry nonparty members along with them.

Comrades, in the past few months the dangerous and adventurist trends in the policy of the imperialist states, especially in the U.S. Administration, have further grown. This is shown by the most recent events in Lebanon, in Central America, and in the Far East, including the provocative airspace violation by the South Korean airplane.

The brutal attack of the United States on little Grenada in complete defiance of international law has caused uneasiness even among some hardboiled NATO politicans. But the Reagan administration does not give a damn -- nor does it care about the broad resistance against the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Europe. And prominent politicians and the mass media in the FRG are virtually tumbling over in submissively seeking to justify these brutal aggressions as well as the preparations for a murderous aggression. Not only do they spread all the lies of the U.S. Government, but in addition they invent false reports of their own.

The international situation has become noticeably more tense. With the beginning of the deployment of new American intermediate-range missiles in Europe the Government of the United States and the highest representatives of the leading NATO countries have for all practical purposes openly challenged the socialist community. They have embarked on the road of large-scale preparations for a war against the states of the Warsaw Pact.

These dangerous trends in the plans and actions of Washington and of NATO are substantiated by a whole number of facts.

The Military-Strategic Balance Is To Be Destroyed.

First, the "crusade" against communism, against the USSR, and the other countries of the socialist community that was proclaimed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan 1 and 1/2 years ago has not remained a mere slogan but has become a program of practical action, the basis of the policy of the United States and of NATO that is primarily aimed at "destroying socialism as a sociopolitical system" -- no more and no less.

This aim is for all practical purposes reflected in all measures of an economic, political, ideological, and military nature that are being carried out by the United States and by NATO.

Second, the United States and its NATO allies are making an all-out effort to destroy the military-strategic balance that has developed between the USSR and the United States between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. To this end they are intensifying the development, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons systems both in the intercontinental and intermediate range, which are considered as means for a first strike -- the decapitation blow, as they call it.

These systems include primarily the new intercontinental "MX" missiles, of which at first 100 and later on 200 are to be deployed, the "Trident" nuclear submarines, and the strategic bombers carrying long-range winged missiles. Thus the number of warheads on strategic means of delivery at a single launching is raised from 11,000 to about 16,000.

The Pershing II and the cruise missiles in West Europe are also designed to achieve superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries and to make possible a nuclear first strike. Admiral Carroll, who until 1980 worked at the Pentagon on nuclear and conventional planning of the U.S. Armed Forces for Europe, declared concerning these missiles: "The MX missiles, the Trident II missiles, the Pershing II -- they all enable us to attack the central strategic forces of the Soviet Union with hardly any early warning time."

The United States and NATO also modernized their conventional armament to an unprecedented extent and speed, providing new equipment for all parts of their armed forces. The NATO countries have introduced new or markedly improved

-- combat tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery systems, antitank and antiaircraft weapons in the land forces,

-- combat plans and helicopters in the air forces,

-- ships and boats with the latest missile armament in the navies.

NATO is paying great attention to the substantial increase of its capacities for reconnaissance and automation of combat actions of all force components in daytime and at night, as well as to the introduction of basically new types of ammunition.

In the 1984 budget year alone the FRG will spend DM12.6 billion on buying new technical combat equipment.

The most important expenditure items provide for the purchase of:

-- DM4.8 billion worth of aircraft and missiles, including DM3.7 billion alone for the "Tornado" fighter-bomber,

-- DM2.5 billion worth of tanks and combat vehicles,

-- DM billion worth of ammunition.

The armed forces of the FRG and of other NATO countries are moreover being equipped with new precision arms and other new arms systems which in terms of their destruction qualities come close to the effects of tactical nuclear weapons.

In short, there is at present no field of military effort, no type of armament where the United States and NATO do not seek to win superiority and have set for themselves the task of overtaking the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries at any cost and pushing us into an unfavorable position.

Third, the leaders of the United States and of NATO are employing all kinds of maneuvers to enable them to step up their war preparations while at the same time dodging honest negotiations on halting the arms race and on an arms reduction.

Since the present U.S. Administration has come to power, it has been responsible for the fact that all these negotiations have been interrupted or led into a cul de sac. The Geneva negotiations on a reduction of nuclear arms in Europe were continued by the U.S. delegation only to create the impression that the Reagan administration was interested in a reduction of arms -- while in fact it has started the deployment of the "Pershing II" and long-range cruise missiles, and is continuing it in disregard of all opposition.

The lack of good will on the part of the United States to hold genuine negotiations and achieve an agreement on arms reduction on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security has led to the opening of more and more new channels for stepping up armament.

Under these conditions there is an increasing possibility of the imperialists provoking dangerous events and of unforeseen international crises developing. If the policy of the United States and of the other NATO countries does not change, the world will be pushed closer and closer to that fateful line, the crossing of which can lead to a nuclear catastrophe.

NATO Is Intensively Preparing for War Tasks

Fourth, along with their intensified armament the United States and NATO are increasing the scale of their military exercises, which are carried over in gigantic areas from the Arctic to the Mediterranean Sea, from the Central American states to the borders of the socialist community. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers, thousands of tanks and aircraft, and hundreds of warships take part. Every year in the course of these exercises up to 40,000 troops from the United States and England are brought in, in addition to the units and groups of units that are directly stationed in West Europe.

The participation of nearly all NATO countries in "Wintex 83" and in "Autum Forge 83" as well as the wide range of far-reaching exercise goals indicates that NATO is intensively preparing the political and military leadership of its member countries for their war tasks, and that in this process it is seeking a constantly closer military-civilian cooperation and that it regularly checks its war plans all the way down to the kreis level. What makes these extensive exercises particularly dangerous is the fact that the imperialists are using them to camouflage their deployment for attack, and that they can proceed from such exercises directly to acts of aggression.

By their nature these exercises have become large-scale dress rehearsals for unleashing and waging a war against the countries of the socialist community. Especially the course of the troop and staff exercises of the fall of 1983 shows that NATO, led by the United States but with essential participation of the FRG and with a simultaneous increase of the specific share of Great Britain and other NATO countries, is pushing through its war preparations on a wide scale, and that it is placing emphasis more and more on improving its ability to conduct an offensive operation that is effective far into the depth of our territory -- both with and without the use of nuclear weapons.

In addition, the United States has set up special groups of units of all its force components, and has trained them in such a way that they are able at any time to interfere at any point of the globe. With its attack on Grenada the United States has openly demonstrated, and at the same time it has threatened other states as well -- especially in central Europe -- that it will use its armed forces wherever it wants to forcibly implement its claims to world domination.

To achieve its big power goals, the U.S. Administration is going so far -- said Comrade Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in his important statement at the end of September -- "that one really has to doubt whether Washington can be prevented by anything at all from crossing that borderline at which any thinking person must stop."

In parallel with all these military measues the Unites States and NATO have unleashed a reckless "psychological" offensive against the USSR, the GDR, and the other countries of the socialist community. Its aim is to prepare the broad public opinion of the capitalist countries for the alleged inevitability of the struggle against socialism and communism with military means, to deceive the peoples, and to hide from them the actual aspirations of the imperialist reaction for world domination.

Blind With Hatred of Communism

The manipulation of the peoples in their own countries, ideological diversion, and blackmail against the socialist community have become a component part of the official policy and an important element in the war preparations of the United States and of the NATO states.

Blind with hatred of socialism and communism, reckless in their greed for seizing all the resources of this earth, intoxicated with the urge for world domination, leading politicians of the imperialist camp are today talking about the possibility of waging and winning a short or long, limited or comprehensive nuclear war against the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. And they are not merely talking about it. They are quite seriously preparing their armed forces for it, and they have at their disposal the means for unleashing such a war.

All this makes the international situation so explosive and induces many people also in the GDR to ask: How much of a chance still remains to stop the warmongers? Can the United States still be checked at all in its militarist adventures and brutal interventions?

The Forces of Peace Are Greater Than Those of Imperialism

The questions are justified, but our answer to them are equally clear and determined: Great as the threat to peace may be -- it can be lastingly safeguarded. As threateningly as the imperialists may step up the arms race -- the forces of peace have become stronger and more influential than ever before.

As adventurist and aggressive the U.S. imperialists, their allies and their puppets may be, they are up against growing resistance.

There is a limit to what the imperialists can do. They have already failed with all their earlier campaigns against socialism at a time when the Soviet Union was still the only socialist state, and after 1945 they have been compelled to renounce quite a few planned campaigns. The strength of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states, of revolutionary mainstreams of our era altogether, the impact of all states and movements supporting peace is today clearly greater than the strength of the most reactionary circles of imperialism that are interested in war and are placing their stakes on war.

During a visit with the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany Comrade Erich Honecker described it as "fortunate and a great encouragement for mankind that the peace struggle has its most powerful base in the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Today, more than ever before depends on the universal strengthening of socialism and its constantly greater influence on the developments in the world. That is why the successful development of each fraternal country and of our socialist community as a whole is gaining still more weight in the struggle for peace and socialism."

The party members, the army members, border soldiers, and civilian employees in the armed forces and border troops of the GDR will continue to let themselves be guided by this assessment of our general secretary, by this strategy of our party.

We do not want any war, and we will never start a war because we know what terrible consequences it would have for our people, for our country, indeed for mankind. But we cannot permit, either, the strategists of the United States and of NATO to start a war indulging in the illusion that they will be able to attain their goals of world domination.

In view of the devastating weapons in the hands of the enemies of peace and progress of mankind we must do everything, really everything, to prevent war. He who plans an aggression must be threatened by certain destruction. He must not be able to calculate any chance of a victory in any kind of a war, he must become aware of his deadly risk, in other words, he must be deliberately made aware of this again and again.

The confrontation strategists of the United States and of NATO must know: They would be certain of a crushing counterstrike, not only if they were to use intercontinental missiles. All speculations about the first use of intermediate-range missiles, operative-tactical or tactical nuclear weapons cannot bring them any surprise effect, let alone victory in the war, but only the inevitable defeat.

Whether, and to what extent, the enemy recognizes this risk also depends on ourselves. It depends on what our soldiers, our working people are doing now, in peacetime, to prevent a war. This must be proved by substantial military efforts, through precise performances in all sectors of socialist national defense, particularly in the armed forces.

This requires great achievements and hard work in all fields to increase combat effectiveness and combat readiness, so as not to permit any decisive change in the balance of forces in favor of imperialism.

This includes that, according to the announcement of the National Defense Council, in compliance with the agreements between the USSR and GDR Governments, the preparations for the deployment of new operative-tactical missile systems have started in the GDR -- missile systems which, regarding their range and traget accuracy, together with the arms systems in the CSSR and the USSR, will constitute a counterbalance to the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in the FRG.

This includes what the USSR defense minister, Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, declared in a fundamental PRAVDA article on 19 November, and I quote: "The corresponding countermeasures, which concern the territory of the United States itself, will be such that the Americans will invariably come to realize the difference between the situation prior to the deployment of their missiles in West Europe and the situation afterwards."

This includes the fact that in the course of the coming years we will equip our force components with new or improved weapons and equipment and that we will augment their command and reconnaissance capabilities, their firepower, and mobility.

This includes the fact that we will bring the standard of combat training, especially the mastering of the new weapons and equipment, and political education to a level that ensures at all times a high combat effectiveness and combat preparedness.

This includes, finally, the fact that socialist defense education, premilitary training, and the civil defense of the GDR, as well as the replenishing of our armed forces and their teaching institutions with physically and mentally healthy, morally strong and efficient young people will also be ensured at a high level.

It is clear that we do not find it easy to take all these measures. The corresponding personnel, material and financial consequences must be implemented within the framework of the existing conditions in our national economy. However, the USSR, the GDR, and the other Warsaw Pact states must undertake the necessary efforts because what is at stake is the reliable safety of all countries of the socialist community, the existence of socialism as a sociopolitical system, and thus the safeguarding of peace, the life of the peoples of Europe and of the world.

Never Again Must a War Emanate From German Soil.

Since the founding of the GDR it has been the historical mission of the German worker-peasant state and the main content of the principled SED policy to do everything to ensure that never again does war emanate from German soil.

If the FRG, with the approval of the majority of the Bundestag deputies, is now being turned into a central launching pad for U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons against the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist states in Europe, then it becomes possible for the third time in this century for a war to be unleashed from German soil, for the fate of the peace-loving people in Europe and throughout the world to be threatened.

It is our goal to prevent this. That is why we have given arms to German workers and why we will continue to mount guard shoulder to shoulder with our comrades in arms of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal armies.

We will do everything to fulfill the decisions of the Central Committee, to universally strengthen the GDR jointly with the working people of all sectors of society, and to exactly fulfill the plans, to be always militarily strong and combat-ready, so that peace remains in Europe.

Our party, our Central Committee and its general secretary, and our people can rely on that!

NATO'S MISSILE DECISION, CONSEQUENCES VIEWED

DW300737 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Guenter Leuschner weekly international review]

[Text] Good evening, dear listeners: Shorthly before the Bonn Bundestag made its fateful decision last Tueday we -- a group of my colleagues and myself -- were sitting together. One of us suddenly said: Let's just imagine that they listen to reason and say no. Under those circumstances it was easy to visualize the consequences of such a decision. A deep sigh of relief would have been heard in Europe -- in the West as well as in the East, and in the FRG as well as in the GDR. Everyone would have been convinced that virtually at the last moment, a dangerous development had been stopped. New opportunities for the Geneva negotiations would have been created instead of the existing possibilities being destroyed.

Such a no would have caused a tremendous growth of confidence among the Soviet people and would have proven that the FRG politicians are serious when they say that war must never again be allowed to emanate from German soil. Opportunities for reasonable cooperation between the two German states would have increased, and the starting position for the Stockholm conference next January would certainly have been more favorable. You can imagine the additional results of such a decision by the Bundestag, and all of these only show what opportunities were done away with.

The older generation will recall that two or three times in postwar history there have been similar or comparable situations, similar alternatives, and similar opportunities. They will recall that they were always wasted. Unfortunately this is a tradition in the Bundestag. However, the older generation will also recall that socialism as a whole, including we in the GDR, has coped with such missed opportunities by the other side, and it will be no different this time. This time we even have less cause for resignation because in postwar history there has been no other situation like this, which was developed so unequivocally against the will of the great majority of the West European people and because there is no reason to believe that this majority will now remain silent.

In the meantime, the more clear-sighted politicians in the West have come to realize that the past week has by no means been a defeat for the peace movement. The bourgeois politicians will grow gray with worry over the idea of how they are supposed to cope in the future with people who have become so politically aware. After all, NATO's policy has not become more credibile -- to quote an frequently repeated phrase of the missile advocates -- following last week's decisions, and, therefore, we can also draw conclusions about the political strength and cohesion of the Western alliance.

Through Yuriy Andropov's statement, through our Central Committee's very comprehensive analysis, and through comment from Prague and Warsaw, the socialist countries have given their response to the question of how we will now continue. This response has been noted with great attention in the West, where moderation, soberness, and reason are attributed to us. Of course, this is not being done to create an even sharper contrast to their own thoughlessness and lack of reason.

What Erich Honecker has said about our efforts to hold the damage within limits has been quoted in the West so often since the weekend that there is obviously a desire to exploit the promised limitation of damage to cause the actual damage to be forgotten -- the damage which has been done by approving the missile deployment. However, it is this very damage, for which the United States and its partners alone bear responsibility, that forms the introduction of the analysis of the SED Central Committee and of Yuriy Andropov's statement.

This damage consists of the increased threat of war, of a new round in the arms race which is now unavoidable, of harm to the European treaty system, of further difficulties for reasonable cooperation, and of the foundation of the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range weapons. No attempt to play down the harmdone will exonerate the perpetrators, who defer to the soberness of the socialist countries, from their guilt. Arson is arson even if the fire department arrives quickly and saves the burning house from complete destruction.

By the way, there is nothing sensational about the phrase about limiting damage. This only reflects that in the new situation nothing will change in our principled foreign policy. We will not suddenly become supporters of the arms race because NATO is now forcing us to take military countermeasures. In the future there will still be no reasonable alternative to the policyof disarmament and peaceful coexistence, even if NATO were to again act contrary to disarmament and peaceful coexistence. To say that it is better to negotiate 10 times than to shoot once is correct even if the United States has pulled the rug out from under the negotiations on intermediate-range weapons in Geneva by creating faits accomplis.

As Comrade Andropov pointed, only they could reverse the situation even now if they were to remove the obstacles they have erected, that is, if they were to remove the missiles. In addition, negotiations on the removal of all nuclear weapons in Europe could start as soon as tomorrow. This Soviet initiative, which for years has been deliberately passed over in silence in the West, is still valid.

To be sure, in Stockholm we will attempt to achieve concrete steps toward confidence-building measures, agreements on the nonuse of force, a ban on the first use of nuclear weapons, and nuclear-free zones -- all this has now become even more urgent. Absolutely nothing in the socialist countries' peace policy will change, but this certainly also includes everything connected with the term countermeasures contained in Yuriy Andropov's four points. They are part of the process of limiting damage because the damage caused by the deployment of American first-strike weapons could easily become a catastrophe for mankind if the military balance were not ensured. Just think of Grenada or the Reagan doctrine of the policy of strength with which he wants to force the socialist countries to their knees!

The quicker the government in Washington realizes that the socialist countries cannot be blackmailed and that the United States cannot dictate its will to them, the better chances will be for later negotiations. Yuriy Andropov has reiterated that we are doing only what is absolutely necessary in this area -- not one step more, but also not one less, than is necessary for a balance. This is surprising only to those politicians in the West who have perhaps fallen victim to their own propaganda with which people were to be made to believe that the Soviet Union will put up with the American missiles, that is, that it in fact would let itself be blackmailed.

Perhaps some day, even those in the West who still like to gaze into crystal balls about socialist policy will realize that we mean what we say. Thus, whoever wants to negotiate honestly with us in the future will always find a partner. The offer of a coalition of reason remains valid, even if for the time being it has been rejected by a coalition of unreasonableness. We are not the proper object for a policy of strength, and it would be futile for anyone to try to pursue such a policy.

BISHOP PROTESTS AGAINST MILITARY EDUCATION

DW301115 Bonn DIE WELT in German 30 Nov 83 p 7

[Excerpt] Berlin -- In a talk on Monday with Klaus Gysi (SED), state secretary for church affairs, Cardinal Joachim Meisner, as the head of the Catholics in the Eastern and Western part of the [Berlin] Diocese criticized state pressure in the field of military education. Meisner also touched on problems of communist education in schools, which creates disadvantages for Christian students.

Neither the diocese spokesman residing in West Berlin nor other insiders were informed about the forthcoming meeting between Meisner and Gysi.

TRANSIT NEGOTIATIONS WITH WEST BERLIN CONTINUE

AU252024 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] West Berlin (ADN) -- On 23 November further negotiations were conducted to solve the rapid transit question in Berlin (West) between the representative of the GDR Minister of Transportation, Main Department Head and Reichsbahn Main Director Meissner, and the representative of the Senat of Berlin (West), Senat Councillor Hinkefuss, in the West Berlin town hall Schoeneberg. It was agreed to hold the next talk on 1 December 1983 in the capital of the GDR.

Springer Press 'Disturbs Relations'

AU281315 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Friday the Springer Press carried reports on alleged GDR concessions in the negotiations on the issue of settling the rapid transit system in West Berlin in a sensational way by making reference to an interview with the West Berlin Federal Senator Scholz. The GDR delegation had allegedly declared its readiness to negotiate on keeping open the Staaken Street border crossing beyond 31 December 1984. However, this problem is not part of the rapid transit negotiations and was thus not discussed.

By the way, the West Berlin delegation itself has so far not tried to discuss problems in the rapid transit negotiations that are not connected with the subject. This job was reserved for the Springer Press, which again and again tries to disturb relations between Berlin (West) and the GDR.

NDPD, CDU SUPPORT SED STAND TO DEFEND PEACE

LD302202 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1810 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin 30 Nov (ADN) -- The leading organs of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) and the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) on Wednesday announced their full support for the political orientation given by the SED at the seventh meeting of its Central Committee last week.

The Presidium of the CDU Main Executive Committee stressed that in view of the new situation following the start of the stationing of peace-endangering U.S. nuclear weapons, the Christian Democrats agree with the measures, the need of which Yuriy Andropov had explained in his recent statement. "We in the GDR have never been supporters of the arms race and will never be such. The proposals of the countries of the socialist community to end the arms race and go over to disarmament, remain topical," the communique on the Presidium meeting states.

Such a consistent policy of peace and security, and of readiness for dialogue on the vital questions affecting our people and of other people lay in the interest of all citizens of the GDR, independent of their social origin, philosophy, or faith. It is therefore supported by the CDU. A strong socialism is the best guarantee for a secure peace -- this recognition expresses itself in the desire of the Christian Democrats further to strengthen the GDR to the best of their ability.

At a discussion held by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the NDPD, the party chairman, Prof Heinrich Homann, said that the continuity of the foreign and security policy of the GDR for the prevervation of peace would be supported by the citizens of all classes and strata of society unanimously and with great responsibility. The National Democrats are at one with the historical task of the German workers and peasants' state on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism and are jointly responsible for the contribution of the GDR to the struggle for peace. For that reason the NDPD consistently supports everything that has to be done now at this very moment to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and with its full strength approved the Soviet peace and disarmament policy, said Prof Homann.

TISCH MEETS WITH PORTUGUESE TU OFFICIAL

LD301939 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1636 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 30 Nov (ADN) -- The primary concern of trade union representatives at present is to increase trade union activity in the struggle for peace, detente, and disarmament. Agreement on this was reached in Berlin on Wednesday during an exchange of views between Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, and Jose-Luis Judas, member of the National Secretariat of the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers. Trade unions, as the workers' biggest mass organizations, should make an important contribution toward ensuring that the deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe, which began in disregard for the will of the peoples, is stopped, and that measures are instituted to have them withdrawn from the European Continent.

Both sides spoke in favor of leading representatives from all European trade unions holding a meeting to document their involvement for peace, detente, and disarmament, as was suggested in the 30 September 1983 appeal by the central trade union organizations of the socialist countries to all European trade unions and workers.

SED'S FELFE ATTENDS MEETING ON FODDER ECONOMY

DW301142 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 29 Nov 83

[Summary] Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; and Central Committee members Johannes Chemnitzer, first secretary of the Neubrandenburg SED Bezirk leadership; and Bruno Lietz, GDR Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs, today attended a meeting of fodder economists, masters, and livestock fosterers at the VEB pig breeding and fattening enterprise in Hassleben, Templin Kires, which discussed the new and higher demands placed on the fodder economy in the GDR's livestock production. Appreciating the good performances of the working people Werner Felfe said that they had set yardsticks for achieving high breeding and fattening results with rather low quantities of fodder.

HONECKER GREETS TURKISH COMMUNIST PARTY

AU231424 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has sent a greetings address to the delegates of the Fifth Congress of the Turkish Communist Party. The message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, reads as follows:

The SED Central Committee conveys solidarity and fraternal militant greetings to the delegates of the Fifth Congress of the Turkish Communist Party.

This party congress is an outstanding event and a climax in the talks of your party. On this occasion the communists of the GDR reaffirm their fraternal affinity with the communists of Turkey, which is based on the common communist ideals, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism.

The members of the SED pursue with great sympathy the courageous sacrificial struggle of the Turkish Communist Party against terror and persecution, and for peace, democracy, and social progress.

In view of the adventurous intensive armament and confrontation policy of the most aggressive circles in the United States and NATO, the SED has the view that it has become the most urgent task of the present to do everything to prevent a nucler holocaust. The deployment of new death missiles in the NATO states must be opposed even more resolutely, and the intervention policy of the U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and in other areas of tension must be checked.

The SED, therefore, reaffirms its readiness to cooperate with all parties and social forces that are committed to the common ideals of peace and social progress.

In the spirit of a close, fraternal cooperation between our parties we wish your congress success in its deliberations.

We are convinced, dear Turkish comrades, that its decisions will provide an important impetus for the further struggle of your people for a democratic renewal, for consolidating the fighting strength of your party, and for the expansion of its mass influence.

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO -- Mexico City 26 Nov (ADN) -- The fifth session of the GDR-Mexico joint government commission ended in Mexico City on Friday with the signing of a protocol on the 1984-1986 economic cooperation. The GDR delegation was headed by Dr Eduard Schwierz, deputy minister for foreign trade. The Mexican delegation was headed by Eduardo Navarrete, deputy foreign minister. During the 3-day deliberations with representatives of the Mexican Government, trade, industry, and Mexican banks, the two sides affirmed their intention of developing trade for mutual benefit, especially cooperation in the areas of industry, agriculture, fisheries planning as well as science and technology. Above all, the GDR will be supplying Mexico in the coming years with heavy engineering products and receive from Mexico in particular agricultural produce and mining products. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0901 GMT 26 Nov 83 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ALGERIA -- Algeria's President Chadli Bendjedid today received GDR Ambassador Manfred Thiede to accept his letter of credence. Both sides expressed the intention of increasing fruitful coopration for the benefit of their states and in the interest of the joint peace struggle. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 26 Nov 83 LD]

REPORTAGE ON VARKONYI'S TOUR OF MIDDLE EAST

Meets with Kuwaiti Leaders

LD301737 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Peter Varkonyi has held talks in Kuwait. The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs was received by the amir of Kuwait and by the premier of the Arab country. At the talks, they spoke with satisfaction about the results thus far of Hungarian-Kuwait cooperation, and they affirmed their readiness for the further expansion of relations. Peter Varkonyi and the leaders of Kuwait agreed that everything must be done for the lessening of international tension and for the elimination of local conflicts.

Leaves Kuwait for Damascus

LD301954 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Kuwait, November 30 (MTI) -- Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi paid an official visit to Kuwait November 29-30 on the invitation of Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, deputy prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and minister of information.

Peter Varkonyi met Amir Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, Crown Prince Sa'd al-'Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah, Prime Minister and Oil Minister 'Ali al-Khalifah al-Adhbi as-Sabah.

Discussing topical international issues, the foreign ministers [word indistinct] the need for additional efforts to ease international tension and eliminate regional (?disputes). On bilateral relations, the [words indistinct] cooperation with satisfaction, confirmed their readiness for development, and outlined areas which hold out the most promising prospects in the interests of both sides. Peter Varkonyi invited his Kuwaiti partner to Hungary.

The Hungarian foreign minister left for Damascus Wednesday.

Syrian Coverage of Visit

For Damascus SANA and Domestic Service coverage of the 3-day visit to Syria by Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Peter Varkonyi, see the Syria section of the 1 December Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

LAZAR PAYS VISIT TO NOGRAD COUNTY 30 NOV

LD302056 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Nograd County today. Our correspondent (Endre Papp) has telephoned a detailed dispatch:

Gyorgy Lazar was received at the county's party committee by Janos Geczi, first secretary of the county, and Miklos Devscics, chairman of the county council. In his briefing on Nograd's political, social and economic situation, Janos Geczi said that basically the political mood of the inhabitants is balanced, although they react more rapidly and more sensitively to those issues that are directly connected to the development of their living conditions. They demand realistic, open and sincere information.

The first secretary of the county considered it especially important to point out that the results of our economic policy are achnowledged; yet, in some quarters it is questioned whether we shall be able to counterbalance, with the mobilization of our internal material and intellectual reserves, the effects of the tense international situation and of the detrimental economic measures, whether we shall be able to preserve our solvency. Is modernization realizable within such modest development opportunities? People acknowledge the endeavors made in the interest of preserving the standard of living; at the same time several question the fulfillment of the program, saying: The average indicators conceal the grave problems of the people with low pensions in some places -- their number is very high in Mograd County -- the people with large families, the young people starting careers, especially some of the young white-collar workers. They consider a comprehensive examination of social policy to be justified. Owing to the frequent increases in consumer prices, of various character, the practice of our prices policy is criticized again and again. The workers at plants where very modest wages have been paid for years and where the growing expenses of subsistence cannot be counterbalanced react to these issues with increased sensitivity.

In this regard Gyorgy Lazar noted that it is understandable that people identify the development of the standard of living with the relationship of prices and wages. However, other elements figure in the relationship, such as, for example, preserving the achievement of full employment. It is a fact that we have not been able to avoid a decrease in the value of real wages. A greater stability of prices would have entailed a greater goods shortage. We considered it more important that there be goods in the stores. The real solution would be the third goal: an increase in productivity.

A ready example of flexible adjustment to market demands was shown to the premier. In the Salgotarjan Metallurgical works he was accompanied through the workshops which were among the first, even on a world scale, to introduce the so-called half-hot forging technique, which, by turning out accurately-sized products, signficantly reduces production costs.

Gyrogy Lazar asked (Laszlo Uermoesi), managing-director, what type of differentiation he would expect with the introduction of the new wage rate system. The managing director answered that the workers have strong reservations about the desire to introduce a distinction in wages. The premier interrupted [words indistinct] because he had met with several workers who opposed a leveling policy.

In the afternoon at an aktiv held at the county party committee, Gyrogy Lazar returned to some issues that had arisen during his visit. He noted that the primary economic goal is the preservation of the country's solvency. Debt rescheduling would be a very expensive solution. Goods supply and even the modest opportunities for development would suffer the consequences. It would be unfortunate to deny the confusion caused by the curbing of imports, but the stoppages experienced occasionally in production cannot always be attributed to this. The change in this depends not on the decision of government but on the productive capacity of the Hungarian economy. In comparision to what was envisaged when this year's plan was approved, the transition in 1984 will be slightly worse, Gyorgy Lazar said, adding: Whoever believes that the time of giving orders comes with the deterioration of conditions is wrong. There is a need to listen to as many opinions as possible in precisely such a situation. The political leaders must give evidence of having more patience than those people who complain. As Gyorgy Lazar said, often we hear our own faults; often we ought to have had more foresight. We are not abandoning our principle that there should be greater independence for the leaders, greater say for the inhabitants and workers, because experiences show that if we progress in this direction, we can resolve our problems sooner.

After the aktiv, Guyrgy Lazar left for Szecseny, where he is getting acquainted with the situation of the major village and its surroundings.

EUROMISSILES DEPLOYMENT, GENEVA TALKS REVIEWED

AU30:708 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 7

[Zygmunt Broniarek commentary: "Missile and Geneva"]

[Text] The Geneva negotiations on the reduction of intermediate-range weapons in Europe have been broken off indefinitely.

This is a decision of great importance. It has been made after innumerable efforts by the USSR to find a solution to such an important problem while retaining equal security by both sides. The Soviet Government and Yuriy Andropov have several times made many proposals which, when carefully considered, could move matters forward. But the NATO side has had only one "step forward" in mind -- the installation of missiles.

The 22 November Bundestag resolution was the step that finally forced the USSR to make its decision in Geneva. This decision results from many facts. The FRG is the most important NATO country in Europe. It is the only NATO country accepting both types of American missiles: Pershing II's and cruise. It is also the only NATO country accepting all of the missiles belonging to the first category, in other words the ballistic misssiles with a very short trajectory and high accuracy. Both the Pershing II's and the cruise missiles are new generation nuclear weapons: the former because of the above-mentioned characteristics and the latter because they can confuse the enemy's radar and there is no way of telling whether they are carrying nuclear or conventinal warheads.

But there are additional factors that indicate that the FRG Parliament's resolution will cause a qualitative change in the situation in Europe.

The FRG is the only NATO country whose official representatives -- the present government's ministers -- support the 1937 territorial shape of the German Reich. It is also a country whose powerful forces do not wish to come to terms with the emergence and existence of the GDR. Both matters are of special importance for us Poles, the first because it directly concerns our territory, and the second because it concerns the political-territorial set-up that took shape after World War II and that has guaranteed peace so far. Therefore, pure realism, brought on by memories of Warld War II, requires that the decision to install nuclear weapons of the new generation in the FRG by regarded with special alertness.

The Soviet Government's decision to break off the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range missiles should also be looked at in the light of the stubborn campaign of many NATO countries, especially the United States and the FRG, aimed at convincing public opinion that the installment of these missiles will not affect the negotiations; in other words, that the missiles will be installed and the negotiations will continue. Some politicians, carried away by megalomania, have even said that "real" negotiations will only commence when the first missiles are on West European soil and when the Soviet Union, seeing NATO's "firmness," "determination", or whatever else one might call it, makes fundamental concessions. People surrounding Chancellor Kohl have also spread such rumors, although Kohl himself knows the good Soviet intentions and has heard them from the very lips of Yuriy Andropov. Andropov told him during his Moscow visit at the beginning of July: "If it comes to deployment, we will not depart from our positions and we will not weaken our defense, but we will take appropriate effective steps to increase the security of the USSR and its allies."

The West German opposition, especially the SPD, has also warned the present Bonn government about this state of affairs. Of course, the fact that the SPD has changed its stance toward the new generation of missiles so radically is no coincidence, but is because of a deep understanding of the seriousness of the situation. It is known the initiator of their installations, as far back as October 1977, was the chancellor of the time, Helmut Schmidt. It is known that his government, composed of the SPD and liberals, voted in favor of the so-called NATO "two-track decision" made in the middle of December of 1979. Therefore something very serious must have happened to make the SPD regard it as essential to vote against the resolution prepared by the previous government. This very serious something is the development of the anti-missile movement in the FRG and a full awareness by the SPD, including by its present leadership, that the United States' push to install the missiles conceals a desire not only to correct the alleged imbalance in intermediate-range missiles in Europe, but also to implement President Reagan's extremely dangerous course of "pushing the USSR against a wall" -- and this with the help of first-strike weapons.

A new stage in the development of the situation in Europe is commencing with the Bundestag resolution, which has caused the Geneva talks to break off. It is a stage more threatening than ever before. The responsibility for this falls on NATO, and especially on the United States and the FRG. If only this would open the eyes of those in the West who have not lost a realistic outlook on the world and make them seek out paths which might still lead to a reversal of the current dangerous trend.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF HUSAK-LED DELEGATION

30 Nov Activities

LD302057 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Our special correspondent in Warsaw, Pavel Kopecky, reports on the course of the official friendly visit of the Czechoslovak party and state delegation led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ, president of the Republic, in the PPR:

The meeting of the heads of the two delegations, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, started at the building of the PZPR Central Committee at 1500. Also present were Lubomir Strougal, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and federal premier, and Zgigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy premier.

At the talks the issues of mutual relations and cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR were assessed, as well as the (?standard) and the possibilities for further expansion and improvement of the cooperation in the economic sphere. With regard to the current complicated situation in the world when, owing to the confrontation policy of the United States peace in the world is dangerously jeopardized, the highest representatives of the two countries also evaluated the issues connected with the alliance's defense and strengthening and widening the achievements of socialism.

During the afternoon group deliberations also took place. The group for bilateral political cooperation issues was chaired by Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and for the Polish side Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee secretary.

The group for economic and scientific and technical cooperation issues was chaired by Comrades Lubomir Strougal and Zbigniew Messner.

Although there was no detailed report issued about the results these deliberations -- the results will certainly appear in the documents issued at the conclusion of the visit -- it can be expected that the ongoing visit of the Czechoslovak party and state delegation in Poland will bring, in addition to the assessment of the attained results, a further stimuli for creating a new, wider framework of cooperation, of strengthening ideological-political links, and will confirm the international and class unity of our parties, states, and people.

In addition to these talks other members of our delegation met their Polish counterparts: Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, met Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Central Committee of the SD, and Zbynek Zalman, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, met Zenon Komender, chairman of the Pax Association, and Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Association.

A festive dinner will be given tonight in the palace of the Council of Ministers in honor of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ and president of the republic, by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers. It is expected that the two representatives will deliver toasts at the dinner with which we shall acquaint you in the evening bulletins of our radio station.

The visit of the Czechoslovak party and state delegation in Poland will continue tomorrow.

Leaders Exchange Awards

LD302347 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] In the palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw today Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, presented to Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, a high Polish state distinction, the Grand Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the PPR, which had been conferred on him on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Henryk Jablonski paid high tribute to Gustav Husak's exceptional services to the development of relations between both fraternal countries and his great and all-round contribution to the development of friendly cooperation and strengthening the unity of the socialist community.

On receiving the state distinction Comrade Gustav Husak thanked the PZPR Central Committee and the State Council for the great honor he had been accorded by presentation of this order. He stressed that he accepted this high distinction and the appreciation of his work, primarily as an expression of the recognition of the struggle of the CPCZ for the victory of socialism in our country, as well as an expression of the acknowledgement of its contribution to the development and strengthening of the ties of alliance and cooperation between both our parties and states. I understand this award, Comrade Husak went on, is a symbol of the fact that in building socialism we are able to lean on fraternal cooperation, that we have in socialist Poland not only a good neighbor but also a reliable friend and ally. The historic roots of the Czechoslovak-Polish friendship have grown from common or similar fates, which our nations have shared for centuries, the progressive traditions of our history, our struggles against fascism, for national freedom and the victory of people's power.

Our cooperation played a big role during the post-war years, during the period of socialist construction. It passed the test of all the trials that our countries and parties underwent during that period. Since the visit to Prague last year of Comrade Jaruzelski, in particular, we have recorded advancement in cooperation and we are convinced that it has good prospects for future development, Comrade Husak went on.

We follow with empathy the efforts of the PZPR, all the patriotic forces of People's Poland, to bring about political and economic consolidation and are sincerely gladdened by every success of yours.

Comrade Husak went on to assure the Polish representatives that he will continue to strive to strengthen fraternal bonds between both parties and countries to the benefit of our nations, and the entire socialist community.

Afterwards Comrade Husak presented the Order of Klement Gottwald to Wojciech Jaruzelski. He said that this distinction was awarded to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday for his exceptional services to deepening friendship and fraternal cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR, between the nations of Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Comrade Husak went on to say that the decoration documents the esteem the Czechoslovak people hold for Wojciech Jaruzelski, the outstanding party and state official of the PPR. You have dedicated your entire life to the struggle for freedom and justice for the Polish people, Comrade Husak continued. You have stood in the front ranks of the struggle against fascism, for the victory of people's power and the building of socialism in Poland, for friendship and alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union. By your adherence to principles, by your resoluteness and courage at the head of party and state bodies, you have demonstrated in the difficult hours of Poland your loyalty to the ideas of socialism, party wisdom, and responsibility for the fate of your country.

Linked inseparably with your work are the positive results the working people of your country are achieving today under PZPR leadership. You are justly enjoying, Comrade Husak went on to say, a high degree of authority not only in your homeland but also in Czechoslovakia and in the international communist and workers movement.

At the close Comrade Gustav Husak sincerely congratulated Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski on receiving this distinction, wished him good health, personal contentment, and many new successes in his future responsible work for the well-being of the Polish people.

Jaruzelski Dinner Speech

LD010001 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski at official dinner in palace of Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 30 November -- recorded]

[Text] Most esteemed Comrade Husak, dear Czechoslovak comrades and friends: On behalf of party and state authorities of the PPR I cordially welcome you, dear Comrade Husak, and I welcome the members of the party and state delegation of the CSSR. We remember the cordiality with which the Polish delegation was received in April last year in Prague. It is our desire that our Czechoslovak guests enjoy being in Poland, and that our successful talks today end fruitfully.

Poles, Czechs and Slovaks have been permanently linked by a similarity of historical fate and experience. The traditions of struggle against the common enemy are symbolized by the Grunwald victory and are crowned by brotherhood-in-arms on the battlefields of World War II. On Polish soil Ludvik Svoboda organized his compatriots for the struggle against fascism. Poles took part in the Slovak national uprising. Czechs and Slovaks were among the Warsaw insurgents. In the liberation of Czechoslovakia the 2d Army and the 1st Armored Corps of the Polish Army fought, and Czechoslovak soldiers took part in batties in southern Poland.

At present the essence of our national interests and a firm base for internationalist bonds are the identity of system objectives and the participation in the socialist community of nations. We greatly appreciate the efforts of the working class, working people, and nations of Czechoslovakia, which under the leadership of your party consolidate and develop the achievements of socialist statehood. It is a clear example of the strength and possibility of real socialism.

Esteemed comrades: The international situation is being dangerously exacerbated. The deployment of new nuclear weapons on the territory of West Europe has begun, including the FRG where -- it should also be stressed -- revisionist and revanchist feelings have been awakened. The threat of nuclear disaster on our continent has become more real than ever in the past.

The present American Administration, supported by reactionary NATO circles, strives for confrontation with the Soviet Union and with the Warsaw Pact states. It strives to alter the structure of forces in the world and to achieve military superiority. By a number of faits accomplis it imposes on Europe and the world a quantitatively and qualitatively new, highly dangerous phase of the arms race. A component part of the anticommunist crusade is the policy of economic restrictions pursued by the United States -- economic blackmail that is contrary to international law and the principles of the CSCE Final Act. There is no reduction in the propaganda aggression aimed at discrediting socialism and of sowing confusion in international relations. The inseparable agreements of Yalta and Potsdam, which constitute the foundations for territorial and political order and peace in Europe, are being questioned. From this very ground of imperialist arrogance further acts of armed attacks, brutal interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, arise.

In the face of this situation the significance of the socialist community's unity greatly increases. The strength and political cohesion of the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Pact states, cooperation within the CEMA framework, full support for the policies pursued by the Soviet Union, close coordination of steps taken on the international arena -- these are the guarantee of the security and peaceful existence of socialist states and nations. These are also a factor of supreme importance for the cause of peace in Europe and the world. Peace remains unfailingly the humanist objective of socialism. Our intentions in this respect were clearly expressed in the documents of the January conference of the Consultative Political Committee and the June 1983 statement by the leaders of the Warsaw Pact states. We are still convinced that faced with the threat to its existence mankind will find sufficient good sense and strength to stop imperialism and to reverse the dangerous course of events. At the same time the provocative actions by the West cannot be left without an appropriate response. Comrade Yuriy Andropov confirmed this very emphatically once again in his latest statement.

Making its contribution to the defensive efforts of the socialist community, Poland is in full solidarity with the political and defensive decisions of the Governments of the USSR, the CSSR and the GDR.

Esteemed Czechoslovak comrades: People's Poland has entered the 40th year of socialist construction, and, under the leadership of the PZPR, revolutionary transformations and an historical advancement of the nation took place.

Although there was no lack of difficult, painful, and even dramatic, experiences, the achievements of socialism in Poland are inviolable. We shall steadfastly defend, consolidate, and multiply them. For Poland recent years have been a particularly difficult period of time. Today, too, obstacles are still mounting and dangers still exist. Many people continue to face a difficult existence. The stubborn implementation of the ninth party congress program, the line of socialist renewal, is leading us, however, to a broadly-conceived normalization. The supreme target of the party and the people's power remains immutably the full reconstruction of the bonds between the party and the workers and all working people; the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in social life; the unfolding of the alliance of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia.

The last 2 years have brought noticeable progress along this road. Interdependent with the development of socialist democracy is the strengthening of the structure of the socialist state. There is growing support for the program of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. The practice of cooperation between the PZPR and the allied parties, characterized by mutual respect, is conducive to a proper and effective discharge of its leading role. Class trade unions are developing. The economic situation is improving gradually, though unevenly, and with great difficulties. For the first time after 4 years of decline this year we will achieve an increase of accrued national revenue.

Industrial production and productivity are on the upgrade. Plant production results are not bad. The higher effectiveness in the achievement of socioeconomic targets was recognized at the recent 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum as the most urgent and most important task. The economy became the field of sharp political struggle. The internal and external antisocialist extremists attempt to weaken and paralyze it. It is in this direction that the system of anti-Polish reprisals, directed by the U.S. Administration, is moving. All these undertakings of imperialism and of its domestic agencies are in vain.

Poland will not leave the road of historical transformations. It is and will remain a durable, unfailing link in the socialist community. We attach special importance to the further expansion of the brotherly relations with the Soviet Union, with our neighbors, the CSSR and the GDR, with all socialist countries. The reorientation of the Polish economy toward closer investment, production, scientific, and technological ties with the socialist countries continues. A further, mutually advantageous widening and deepening of the all-round cooperation constitutes the basic tool in ensuring equilibrium and speeding CEMA countries' development.

Dear comrades: A leading role in the molding and development of friendly relations between our states and nations is played by the ideological unity and the brotherly cooperation between our Marxist-Leninist parties, the PZPR and the CPCZ. We value highly the attainments of Polish-Czechoslovak friendship and cooperation. It has found a convincing confirmation during a period especially difficult for our country. It is eloquent of the internationalist, class unity of purpose. It emerges from the common precepts of struggle for the strengthening of socialism and for its position in Europe and the world.

Economic cooperation between the PPR and CSSR has systematically developed. Undoubtedly, new agreements will influence its further successful development, particularly in the fields of specialization of production and scientific and technical cooperation. The development of mutual bonds, better use of benefits derived from economic complementarity, and active use of the existing material and intellectual reserves will further serve closer links between our fraternal countries.

Talks held during your present visit once again confirmed the will to develop mutual universal relations. We see great chances for widening contacts and cooperation between parties, unions, and youth. We would like to make further progress in the consolidation of political, economic, scientific and cultural ties. All this will constitute our contribution toward the consolidation of the strength and cohesion of the states of the socialist community, and the struggle for peace and socialism.

I thus propose a toast to cordial friendship, to universal cooperation between the peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia; to ideological unity of our fraternal parties; to the success of our tried ally, the CSSR; to the CPCZ; to our Czech and Slovak comrades and friends; and to your health, dear Comrade Husak. [applause]

Husak Speech

LD010026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Speech by Gustav Husak at the official dinner in the palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 30 November -- recorded in Czech with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] Allow me on behalf of the Czechoslovak party and state delegation and on my own behalf to thank cordially the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the PPR for the invitation to visit your country and for the warm reception and hospitality. I welcome the opportunity to convey to you, the PZPR, the other political parties and social organizations, the entire Polish nation, wholehearted greetings from the Communists, the government, the National Front and the popultion of our country. The course and the result of our talks today express the unity of interests and objectives between our Marxist-Leninist parties, the brotherly relations between our nations and states. They reflect the traditional Czechoslovak-Polish friendship emerging from the common historical destiny, from the struggle for national liberation and social justice and above all, from the fruitful cooperation in the implementation of the building of socialism.

In Czechoslovakia we watch with profound sympathy and efforts of the PZPR, the working class, the progressive forces belonging to the PRON designed to stabilize the political and economic life in your country. We share with you the sincere joy caused by the achievement of these results, and we hope you achieve new successes along the road on which you are marching. As time passes we see clear confirmation of the historical justification, correctness, and necessity for the firm undertakings of 2 years ago on the part of the leadership of the PZPR and the Polish state led by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. The plans of international imperialism designed to tear Poland away from the socialist community have failed. A barrier was erected against the counterrevolutionary antisocialist forces and against their efforts to drive the community to anarchy and disintegration.

The great service rendered by the socialist and patriotic forces of the PPR not merely for their own country but also for the whole socialist community and the cause of peace in Europe is that they succeeded in securing a socialist direction for emerging from the crisis and opening up for Poland a path of a new socialist development. To the necessary undertakings aimed at strengthening socialism, imperialism responded with a campaign full of hatred and acts of discrimination. However, all those who have at heart the interests of the Polish nation and the preservation of the postwar order in Europe understood and supported these undertakings. We condemn with all firmness these anti-Polish campaigns which constitute a brutal violation of the international law, the Helsinki Final Act and the principles of a peaceful coexistence. We also fully support the right stance of the Polish Government on the issue of lifting the unjust discriminating measures aimed against Poland.

We know that ahead of the PZPR, other allied parties, PRON, the Polish nation, there are many complex tasks. We wish to assure you, dear comrades, yet again that in your struggle you will continue to have in the future solid, faithful friends and allies in our Communist Party, in the National Front and in our nation.

Esteemed comrades, friends: With an awareness of the complex conditons of the eighties and of new needs resulting from the developments in the international situation, our party and the nation are undertaking in the present period intensive efforts to accelerate the economic development. At the CPCZ Central Committee session last week we reviewed last year's results, and we defined the tasks for 1984. We reached the conclusion that it would be necessary to develop energetically the positive results that have been achieved, to overcome more quickly the existing shortcomings and difficulties and to continue to increase the productivity and the efficiency of the economy in order to strengthen the economic force of our country and to maintain the already-achieved standard of living. The developments to date convince us that our society under CPCZ leadership is able to provide in accordance with the 16th congress program the further stable political, economic and social development of our country.

Esteemed comrades: The current development of the international situation, which has become considerably more complicated as a result of the aggressive militaristic policy pursued by American imperialism, occupies a foremost place in our talks with representatives of the Polish authorities. Socialist states cannot and will not watch passively attempts to disturb the strategic balance of world forces and the danger that threatened them, especially the deployment of new American missiles in Europe. This is why we regard as necessary and fully justified the undertakings aimed at securing the peace and safety of the Soviet Union and its allies contained in the 24 November statement by Yuriy Andropov, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On the basis of the agreement concluded between the Czechoslovak Government and the USSR Council of Ministers, preparatory work has been commenced -- and accelerated in the light of current developments -- for the deployment of operational and tactical missile complexes on the territory of Czechoslovakia, and similarily on the territory of the GDR, which also borders with the FRG where the United States has begun to deploy its nuclear missiles. The fundamental line of the foreign policy pursued by the socialist community has always been and remains the striving for the preservation of peace, for a peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for easing international tension, and for disarmament. The situation that has arisen demands that we unite the struggle for peace with an appropriate strengthening of combat readiness, as the CPCZ central Committee stressed recently when examining the international situation.

We are deeply convinced that in spite of the present tension in international relations, it is still possible to solve international problems by means of talks and agreements, providing, of course, that there is a realistic attitude and good will on the part of the West. The strength and unity of the socialist community; the powerful alliance with our common friend, the Soviet Union; development of the world peace movement in which progressive, democratic, and other realisitcally thinking forces unite today on the broadest ground in the struggle for peace and against imperialist war plans -- all this strengthens our conviction that it is possible for our generation and future generations to live in peace.

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski, comrades, friends: To end, please allow me to express the conviction that our visit, the outcome of our talks, will become new incentives for deepening the cooperation between our countries and nations in the spirit of the agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between our countries. Please let me propose a toast to new PZPR successes, PRON forces, and Polish working people involved in the development of the PPR, to cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR; to the good health of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chiarman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; to the good health of Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the PPR; to the good health of our Polish friends. [applause]

PAP SUMMARIZES USSR-PPR COOPERATION AGREEMENTS

LD301221 Warsaw PAP in English 1121 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw 29 Nov -- The Soviet Union's party and government delegation composed of CPSU Central Committee Secretary Nikolay I. Ryzhkov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee Nikolay K. Baybakov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Talyzin and a group of experts paid a visit to Poland on 28-29 November at the invitation of the PUWP Central Committee and Poland's government.

At the PUWP Central Committee a number of meetings were held attended from the Polish side by: Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, PUWP CC Secretary, Vice Premier, Chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers Manfred Gorywoda, Vice Premiers Janusz Obodowski and Zbigniew Szalajda and a group of experts.

The Soviet delegation was received by PUWP CC First Secretary, Chairman of the Council of Ministers General Wojciech Jaruzelski who was also present at the signing of the documents.

During the meeting a number of current and long term issues of economic cooperation were discussed.

The procedure and timing of mutual consultations on coordination of Poland's and USSR's national economic plans for the years 1986-1990 were approved. The need for further deepening of economic ties between Poland's and USSR's economies aimed at full utilization of Poland's production potential and increased degree of its technological and economic independence from the West, was underlined.

Both sides deemed it advisable to start as soon as possible joint work on development of mutual relations until 2000.

The chairmen of both states' central planning bodies signed two documents of importance for further development of cooperation:

-- on cooperation at gas pipeline construction Kobryn-Brzesc.

On the basis of this document the Polish construction enterprises will build a gas pipeline Kobryn-Brzesc-Warsaw. It will make possible increased gas deliveries after the pipe line has been completed. It is a basic condition (?of) an increased import of natural gas from the USSR.

-- on USSR participation at the conclusion of metallurgical projects in Poland.

The credit for this will be repaid with supplies of products manufactured by these projects and surplus supplies exceeding the credit amount will be used for payment for gas supplies from the USSR.

During the visit of the delegation the meeting of the intergovernmental Polish-Soviet Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between Poland and the USSR was held. The prospects for scientific, technical and economic cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union were considered as well as tasks resulting from the meeting of the party and government delegations.

The sides signed documents of big importance for further development of Polish-Soviet cooperation including an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation in economizing on the thermal and electric energy resources, as well main lines of specialisation and production until [date indistinct] in the car and electrotechnical industry, heavy machnies and transport industry as well as machine-building for chemical industry and oil industry.

AGRICULTURAL, TRADE PROTOCOLS SIGNED WITH CSSR

Agricultural Protocol

LD260030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] A protocol on agricultural cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia has been signed at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy. The document defines the areas for cooperation and for the exchange of experiences in agriculture and the agricultural and food industry next year and in the following years.

1984 Trade Protocol

LD302126 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] A protocol on PPR-CSSR trade and payments next year has been signed at the Ministry of Foreign Trade in Warsaw. The protocol was signed by Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade Alois Hloch and Antoni Karas.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker in Czech with superimposed Polish translation] In our trade, Poland is an old, important partner. Ther protocol signed on trade next year envisages, as compared with this year, more machines and plants in our reciprocal supplies. They will amount to 70 percent of the overall turnover. The next important items in our trade will be raw and other materials for production, as well as consumer goods. The latter group will play a more important part than to date in our export to Poland.

With trade planned for next year amounting to Rl.6 billion, Czechoslovakia will be the number two economic partner of Poland among the socialist countries. We plan a 13-percent increase in reciprocal trade in all groups. Thus, for instance, the increase of Polish export machines and plants exceeds 20 percent.

[Unidentified speaker] What will we import from Czechoslovakia?

[First unidentified speaker] In addition to a whole range of machines and plants and raw materials for the chemical industry, we will also import goods of direct interest to the consumer. The list is rather long, but the following are noteworthy: motorcycles, automatic washing machines, refrigerators, spin driers, linen, furniture, fabrics, and finally the famous Czech beer, Pilzner. [end recording]

POREBSKI REPLACED BY BALICKI IN VOIVODSHIP POST

LD301804 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1607 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] A voivodship party committee plenary meeting was held in Wroclaw today devoted to organizational issues. The plenum accepted the resignation of Comrade Porebski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, from the post of first secretary of the voivodship party committee, and as member of the Wroclaw Voivodship party executive committee in connection with his appointment to the post of secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Comrade Porebski was cordially thanked for his contribution to the consolidation of the voivodship party organization during a particularly difficult political period.

A new first secretary of the voivodship party committee was elected by secret ballot. He is Comrade Zdzislaw Balicki, voivodship party executive committee member and chief editor of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA.

The plenum was also acquainted with a report on preparations for a December meeting of the voivodship committee to be devoted to education.

LISTING OF PRIESTS 'MISUSING' CHURCHES DENIED

LD301328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Western press reports that the list of 69 priests who misused places of worship for political purposes was allegedly compiled by the Office for Religious Affairs and referred to the Episcopate are false, Jerzy Urban said at a press conference for foreign correspondents.

INVESTIGATION OF PRZEMYK DEATH 'IN FINAL STAGE'

LD301447 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw 30 Nov -- Investigation into the death of Grzegorz Przemyk is in its final stage. The main pre-trial procedure has ended and the completion of investigation steps is under way. These steps result from motions tabled by suspects and counsels for the defence while they were acquainted with the investigation reports. After this procedure is completed and suspects and counsels for the defence again study the files, investigation will be closed and the case together with the indictment will be transferred to the Warsaw Voivodship court. The Warsaw Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office says this is expected to take place in mid-December.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS ON 14TH PZPR CC PLENUM

Politburo Report to Plenum

AU231530 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19/20 Nov pp 3-4

[Politburo report presented by PZPR Politburo member Manfred Gorywoda during 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 18 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: One month ago, the 13th Central Committee plenum eminently confirmed once again the importance and need to observe in practice the Leninist principle of ideological, political, and economic unity. The current Central Committee session is continuing and supplementing the 13th Plenum as far as economic topics are concerned. We wish to review the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress and of the Central Committee concerning these topics, assess the economic situation, and determine how to increase the effectiveness of actions in the socioeconomic sphere, bearing in mind the tasks for 1984.

Tackling these topics is all the more important because the development of the economic situation is exerting an increasingly greater influence on the general sociopolitical situation and on the normalization of life in Poland. The political adversary knows this well. So we must not have any illusions. Both the internal and external forces that are hostile toward socialist Poland will not overlook any opportunity at all for weakening our country's position. This is illustrated by the constant attempts to damage our economy and by the increasingly frequent use of prepared economic arguments during the political battle that is being waged against Poland. Neutralizing these actions and making working people immune to them demands a constant, honest, and public assessment of the state of the economy. It demands a scrupulous analysis of how adopted programs have been implemented, and it demands that society be informed about these matters.

The party's socioeconomic program is known. It was mapped out by the resolutions of the ninth congress and rendered concrete in the resolutions of the Central Committee sessions. Considered in general, it is being implemented. We attach particular significance to the implementation of the economic reform, a reform undertaken at the initiative of the party. We continue to be of the opinion that there is no other road to the solution of the unusually complex socioeconomic problems our country faces than that of a fundamental reconstruction of the system of the functioning of the economy, and of creating conditions and mechanisms to release the initiative of working people and to engage them in the economic development and progress of society. Over a 2-year period the party has provided proof of its steadfast will and doggedness in the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress, in the implementation of a multifaceted program of sociopolitical and economic reforms. Despite exceptionally unfavorable conditions we have not departed from the road mapped out. The facts prove that the program of reconstructing the functioning of the economy was not the result of opportunism, nor was it a propaganda trick. It was and is an integral part of a far-reaching party strategy, worked out on the basis of a profound diagnosis of the aspirations, needs, and capabilities of the Polish public, on the basis of the general rules of socialist construction and of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

When assessing the 2-year implementation of the party's socioeconomic program we are aware both of the achievements and of the failures. We are also conscious of the disappointments manifest in various milieus, which are connected with the rate at which the economic difficulties are being overcome. At this point one has to recall what we drew attention to in the program documents of the ninth congress. At that time it was said that the public should be under no illusion that once the reform is introduced all difficulties will automatically disappear.

It was said that a long and difficult road lies ahead of us and that overcoming the crisis will demand an additional effort on the part of the authorities, of enterprises, of the whole of society. In January 1982, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said from the Sejm podium: I predict a difficult and harsh time, a time of renunciation and of work.

The party, therefore, presented the issue honestly, openly, without promising golden treasures. The party took upon itself the obligation to create system-institutional conditions for overcoming the crisis.

This obligation is being fulfilled. The state of the economy is gradually improving as a result, and this is illustrated both by the growth in production and by certain progress in management efficiency. In 1982, the drop in production was halted. In August of that year, a growth in production for the first time in many months occurred in industry, and in October a growth occurred in construction. The main task of 1983 has been to transform the first signs of change into better signs as part of a constant development trend. This task is being performed. During 10 months of this year, production in industry has risen by over 8 percent. This is due to increased productivity. However, changes to the structure of production are occurring too slowly. In particular, production for the needs of the market is not rising quickly enough and below the level foreseen by the plan.

In agriculture, relatively good results are being achieved in plant production. After a deep disruption caused by an acute shortage of fodder, chiefly imported fodder, animal breeding and at the same time meat production and procurement are establishing themselves at a low level.

There is a chance of exceeding the scale of national housing construction foreseen in this year's plan. The unfavorable phenomena in this sphere include the slow rate at which the housing construction plan in some large urban areas is being fulfilled and the delays in preparing for future housing construction.

We disapprove of the situation with the construction of industrial premises. Investments efficiency is still low here. Premises are being handed over for use after a long delay. A concentration of resources and forces and a further reorganization of the investments pool should encourage an improvement here.

We are noting a certain improvement with the market. The demand for food covered by rationing is being fully satisfied. There has been a growth in the supply of industrial goods to the market. We have removed the shortages of drugs, toiletries, and footwear that were still felt so keenly last year. But the market situation is still difficult. There is still an acute shortage of many goods, including staple ones.

Poland's economic cooperation with foreign countries is varied. Relations with the CEMA countries are developing favorably. We have balanced out our trade with most of them, becoming a reliable partner once more. However, there is still an excess of imports over exports in our trade with the Soviet Union. This is possible thanks to continuing Soviet credits for Poland.

In our trade with the capitalist countries, we will achieve an excess of exports over imports this year, for the second year running. This follows a 10-year period when imports were constantly above exports. Unfortunately, the above result is mainly because of the restriction of our imports, which reduces the possibilities of satisfying the market. The restrictions applied by the U.S. Government and its allies have a very negative influence on our trade with the capitalist countries and also on our debts situation. This is also caused by the unfavorable situation on capitalist markets and by a growth in the prices of imports coupled with a drop in the prices of exports. For this last reason alone, Poland has already suffered losses amounting to Z20 billion this year.

The shaping of the national income illustrates the improvement in the general economic situation. As a result of the increase in production and of the reduced costs of materials, we will achieve an increase in the produced national income this year for the first time in 4 years. However, this increase only corresponds to one-tenth of the drop in the national income which took place during those critical years.

Let us recall: The leading goal in 1983 was to halt the drop in society's standard of living. Today, one can already say that this task has been carried out in principle. One can even expect a certain increase in average real wages, a more rapid increase in the average wage than in the cost of living.

Why in principle then? Because the increase in real wages does not include all groups of employees, although it applies to the majority of those employed in the socialized economy. There are however large groups of employees, especially in the nonproduction sector, who are still this year feeling a drop in real wages. So, in spite of the completed first stage in the revaluation of old-age and disability pensions, their increase will be somewhat lower than this year's cost of living increase.

The halt in the decline of the standard of living has not found the corresponding reflection in social feelings, even of those groups of the population who have achieved an increase in real incomes. The feeling of a further decline in the standard of living is predominant. The question arises: What are the reasons for this? There are at least several. First, the small increase in real wages is being achieved in conditions of a high -- more than 20 percent -- increase in prices. Polish experiences, as well as those of other countries, indicate that in this kind of situation, the increase in prices obscures in social feelings the achieved increase in wages.

Second, the high rate of inflation has the effect of increasing the differentiation in the population's incomes, which is the cause of bitterness and criticism.

Third, the relatively high increase in prices is still accompanied by acute shortages of many goods on the market including those that are very important for the life of families.

In this way, two negative feelings combine: It is not enough that prices are rising, but there is a shortage of goods as well. All this underlines the importance of the struggle against inflation, of stepping up its effectiveness. All this underlines the importance of the struggle for a good market.

Comrades, the results of the implementation of the socioeconomic tasks in the period since the 10th plenum give rise to moderate, cautious optimism. In some sectors, they are even better than we expected. In a word, a step forward has been taken on the way to improving the economic situation.

Allow me a more general reflection. Production in some branches is approaching the 1979 level. The productivity of many branches per hour of work is reaching the level of the same year. Why, then, is this not accompanied by a parallel, rapid improvement in the living standards?

The following are the reasons: First, compared with 1979 there has been a radical reduction in the overall, social working time. This has happened mainly because of the increase in the number of free Saturdays, the decline in employment, the extension of educational leave and of various additional workers' privileges. In this way, the overall annual working time in socialized industry has been reduced by some 14 percent. There has also been a reduction by over 150 hours in the average annual working time of each worker.

Second, the trade situation with the capitalist countries has changed. In 1979 trade with those countries amounted to a $2 billion surplus of imports over exports, while this year the export level will be higher than the import level by over $1 billion. This means that as a result of so fundamental a change in the trade balance with the capitalist countries, the volume of goods at our disposal as a country, is over $3 billion less than in 1979. In terms of the zloty this constitutes, comrades, some Z300 billion. It is easy to imagine how much bigger domestic production would have been, how much better market supply would be and, as a consequence, the standard of living, if we were able to purchase additionally the raw and other materials lacking in industry today for that amount.

Third, vast, billions-high losses were suffered and still are being suffered, by our economy and of course by the whole community as a result of the application of economic restrictions against Poland.

Fourth, since 1979 -- and we do not always bear this in mind -- Poland has acquired over 1.5 million more citizens. The population has increased by nearly 5 percent. This means that a reduced volume of products must be shared today among a larger population.

Are the above phenomena directly linked to the crisis? No. But they indicate new factors compared with the seventies -- radically altered conditions in which our economy, our country have found themselves. At the same time, this indicates that the basic reason for the significant decline in living standards rests not with the classical causes of the crisis and of the economic collapse but with an entire complex of interdependent social and economic phenomena.

It has to be deemed a task of primary importance to give the public an objective picture of the true state of affairs. For it is almost a general practice to explain all negative socioeconomic phenomena, and particularly the decline in the standard of living, as being due to the crisis. The notion of the crisis has become a sort of incantation which is understood and interpreted differently probably by every Pole. There is also a relatively universal opinion that the moment the crisis passes good times will come immediately, characterized by a profusion of goods. Quite often the passing of the crisis is understood to be an almost automatic process, which requires, at most, appropriate support and wise actions from above. Such ways of thinking are in danger of creating attitudes of passivity, wait-and-see attitudes, social dissatisfaction. Only an understanding of the truth, a recogition of the true state of the economy can create a chance to mobilize working people to surmount the difficulties the country is going through. This attempt to elucidate the reasons for the divergencies between the public evaluation of the conomic situation and its actual condition is at the same time a reply to the doubts about whether the economy has really started to move, since life is still difficult and since there are still so many unsatisfied needs. This is because the public, in the main, assesses the state of the economy on the basis of the ways living conditions shape up, of the rate of their improvement. The scale of these disparities is magnified by the fact that in the context of the profound breakdown of the standard of living in the years 1980-82 a conflict was engendered in the public consciousness between the material aspirations of society and the possibilities of satisfying them. During the seventies we went through a period in which prosperity increased, to a large degree on the basis of the credits we had incurred, a prosperity which had no genuine underpinning in the development of domestic material production. The inflationary increase in incomes created expectations of an early fulfillment of rapidly growing needs, especially for consumer durables. The breakdown of the economy in recent years, the inevitable inversion of the proportions that existed in the seventies between what is apportioned out and what is produced, brought these unreal expectations to a drastic end.

This breakdown often created feelings of disappointment, a lack of prospects, and often simply nervousness and frustration. How should these phenomena be counteracted? The party gave a reply by means of the Ninth Congress resolutions in which a realistic program for overcoming the political and socioeconomic crisis was laid down.

Comrades, the concretization of the party's economic program constitutes a 3-year plan. We are encountering a series of barriers and restrictions in its implementation. The main barriers are an insufficient supply of materials to the economy and a shortage of manpower in many enterprises. These make it impossible to make full use of our significant production potential. What does the future look like here?

The supply of materials depends on their Polish production and on imports of them. Current conditions indicate that next year, supplies of materials from both these sources will be no greater than 2 percent more than this year. It is difficult to foresee a greater growth in subsequent years either. Increasing the supply of raw materials from national sources is limited by our natural resources and by the level of funds available for extracting and processing these materials.

The possibility of increasing imports, especially from the capitalist countries, is very modest because of our well-known payments situation. This situation is still very difficult. Not everything depends only on us. The governments of some capitalist countries, especially the U.S. Administration, are still interested in using our debts as a political instrument and as a tool of negative influence on the economic situation in Poland by deliberately restricting our possibilities for importing materials.

What conclusions emerge from this situation? One of them is most important, namely, that a better use of the production potential in the processing industry and a higher growth in productivity can only come about by reducing the consumption of materials. This depends on the resourcefulness and inventiveness of all of us, whether minister, foreman, builder, or scientist. So, with a 2 percent increase in the supply of materials, we could achieve a 2, 4, or 6 percent growth in production next year. An honest implementation by all management levels of the government savings program, which is part of the 3-year plan, will serve to encourage this growth.

This task has been treated very seriously in many work programs. There are numerous examples of well-prepared enterprise savings programs whose implementation is bringing tangible results. One can mention the Cora clothing factory in Siedlce, the Pronit-Erg synthetic materials plant in Pionki, the Gamrat enterprise in Jaslo, Zwoltex in Zdunska Wola, the Bierut steelworks in Czestochowa, the linen plant in Zyrardow, Romet in Bydgoszcz, and the Bobrek steelworks.

But it should be said at the same time that many plants have merely paid lip service to savings programs. Attention has often been focused on simple material stocks, and seldom have work norms, technology, quality, and organization have reviewed.

Concrete saving tasks were not linked in these enterprises with work positions, and were not taken into consideration in pay and motivation. In increasing the quality of saving programs and in their implementation a positive role has been played by party branches and organizations.

A high degree of party activeness in winning support for these programs and putting them consistently into effect is still needed. It is imperative to make systematic evaluations of the implementation of the adopted programs, to assign individual tasks more often to party members in the realization of individual undertakings.

This is all the more justified as there are still many instances of waste and bad management. This is being established constantly by employees of the Supreme Control Chamber and other controlling bodies.

Bitter questions emerge. How is it that so often such scandalous facts are only being brought to light by inspection from outside? Why is this not noticed by managements of enterprises, by self-management bodies, by works party organizations? And why do they not take relevant action?

Better utilization of raw and other materials also means improving the quality of production. Unfortunately, the situation in this respect has been deteriorating in the course of the past few years. To a considerable degree this is a result of negligence and of not wanting to put oneself out, of the exploitation of a monopolistic position by some producers, of a lack of proper quality control, in particular as regards technical control in enterprises and also on the part of commercial organizations.

The managements and self-managements of enterprises often do not appreciate the need for stronger staff motivation to improve quality. So far, the system of sanctions and economic priorities has been an inadequate influence on workers and commerce. We advocate more severe treatment of a reckless attitude regarding problems related to the quality of production. Quality control should be more effectively enforced.

The suggested modifications in the reform for next year are meeting this need halfway. The importance of the issue makes it imperative to monitor their effectiveness so that when necessary they can be made more rigorous, even during the course of the year.

In the view of the enterprises, after the supply of materials, another factor restricting opportunities for stepping up production is the manpower shortage. Nearly all enterprises want to increase employment. Changes in the labor market in the course of the past few years, the demographic situation, and the needs of the broadly conceived services bring about a situation in which virtually right to the end of the current decade there will not only be no chance of increasing employment in the material production sphere, but we must take into account the possibility of a further drop.

That is why the employment shortage problem cannot be resolved through a wage competition between enterprises. A broader question comes to mind here: Do we really have a general shortage of manpower? An extensive analysis shows that this is a relative shortage. There are enterprises in which there is indeed an employment shortage, but there are others which have clear surpluses in relation to the achieved output level.

The proclaimed shortage of hands is often accompanied by lack of thrift in the utilization of work resources, by inefficient organizational structures, by overemployment in the administration of enterprises, by shortcomings in work discipline. Removing these weaknesses will release important reserve forces. Tapping them can contribute to an easing of the shortage of workhands. Organizational and technological progress should serve to promote this as should the mechanization of the productive process and better use of the professional qualifications of employees. Above all, we must make better use of worktime.

Although the nominal worktime in Poland amounts to 42 hours per week, time worked is no more than 34 hours and is one of the lowest in Europe. After all, the time actually spent at the workplace is often also not utilized in full. Research demonstrates that in certain enterprises as much as 30 percent of it is lost.

Economic reform has brought a small improvement to the supply of work resources for the economy. The relatively favorable financial situation in some enterprises means that many of them have not been forced to lay off employees. One may expect that the new regulations concerning contributions to the work activization fund and also the policy of "money hard to come by" will make enterprises limit their employment levels, and improve the structure of employment. The proposed changes to the wages regulations should have the same effect.

All of these undertakings, coupled with an ability to make use of economic instruments, should make it possible to raise work efficiency, which is of fundamental importance when it comes to overcoming the present employment difficulties.

During the 10th plenum, it was proposed that work should be performed on Saturdays because of social needs. Many plants are taking advantage of this possibility of increasing their production and profits. The fears spread by the adversary that it is intended to do away with free Saturdays have disappeared. There are no such intentions, and there never were any. However, the idea of using Saturdays for production purposes is still valid. For there are still plants that have enough supplies of materials and manpower and manufacture essential products, but even so do not work on Saturdays. By the way, it ought to be condemned that the favorable wage regulations for employees working on Saturdays are misused and distorted by some managements. This is done most often by pretending that production done on a Saturday has been done during a normal working day in order to achieve unjustified profits and higher wages. A firm battle must be commenced against such practices. Such activity is profoundly antisocial and against the law.

Favorable opportunities have been created for old-age and other pensioners to return to work and for women on maternity leave to do part-time work or piece-work. These opportunities have so far, however, only been exploited to a very small degree. They should be expanded. To this end one has to make use of the tried and tested solutions of other socialist countries such as, for instance, employees' economic teams.

Permit me to voice one further reflection. One often hears that life is hard, that wages are not always sufficient to last until the next payday. At the same time, the opportunities to increase those wages are not being taken everywhere. And yet there is no shortage of work, of opportunities to earn some honest money. It is hard to resist the question: What are the reasons for this? Are they purely economic?

Comrades, machinery that is becoming out of date and the technological gap may hinder economic development. What can we do to overcome this? The following undertakings are essential"

First, a high degree of care is necessary to maintain the efficiency of machinery, in other words the correct operation of machinery and a proper maintenance and service base for this machinery are necessary. In the face of the foreign currency difficulties, it is particularly important to increase the production of spare parts for imported machines and equipment.

Second, it is necessary to make a wider use of the country's scientific, research, and design capabilities. It is necessary to improve control over research, and development work, better adapt this work to the needs of the national economy, and guarantee a high degree of efficiency for this work by concentrating funds on selected research and development goals. Including over 200 topics of research work in government orders, new systemic solutions, and also the government proposal to set up a committee for scientific and technological progress in accordance with the demands of scientific and technical circles should also act as encouragement.

Third, wider use should be made of the scientific achievements of the USSR and the other CEMA countries, and scientific exchange between these countries should be promoted. We are interested in applying more technology stemming from the socialist countries while modernizing the country's production potential.

Fourth, greater rationalization and inventiveness should be encouraged. With this in mind, it is necessary to finally establish the much-delayed principles behind renumeration for new ideas and inventions and complete work on the law dealing with inventiveness.

Fifth, in investments policy, it is necessary to give preference to modernization and to the introduction of new methods and modern technology.

There are more barriers to economic development that can be keenly felt already or which may emerge later. The economy is feeling the effects of inefficient transportation more and more keenly. The activity goals established at the 10th plenum designed to improve the situation with transportation are still valid. These should be implemented more consistently than ever before. Environmental problems are also becoming more and more noticeable.

Overcoming all these barriers, restrictions, and dangers should be helped by the policy behind structural changes. We know this requires a huge outlay and a lot of time. We have very limited possibilities of commencing new investment projects, and at the same time we have an "excess of justified investment goals." How are we to choose in this situation? It is therefore necessary to work out a long-term program of structural transformations in our economy. Only on the basis of such a program will it be possible to correctly decide where and how we should invest, clearly define an investments policy, correctly orientate scientific research and technological progress, and widen international cooperation. The structural changes program should be worked out in good time, so that it may become an integral part of the 5-year plan for 1986-90.

We will not solve our economy's problems without an active part in the international division of labor. We attach particular importance to widening comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. We are continuing the process of steering our economy toward close production and scientific ties with the economies of these countries. The agreements which have already been signed concerning wide-scale industrial cooperation serve this goal. Work on further agreements of this sort is at an advanced stage.

We are also in the process of creating and holding consultations on long-term cooperation programs with the USSR, GDR, and Hungary. Similar programs with the remaining CEMA countries are being prepared.

An important new source of inspiration for tightening our countries' economic integration will be the economic conference of the CEMA member states, which will take place at the highest level.

We continue to be interested in developing trade and other forms of economic cooperation with the capitalist countries. This cooperation, however, cannot be encumbered with various political conditions. This must be mutually advantageous cooperation between equal partners. Its future also depends on how our payments problems are solved. Our stance on this matter is known. It was expressed during the 10th plenum. Let me repeat it: We are in favor of a long-term settlement of Poland's debts, and our debts may not be settled at the cost of weakening the country's production potential and at the cost of reducing our society's standard of living. We believe this is the only real way for our country to settle its debts. This lies both in the interests of Poland and of its creditors. As the PPR Government note to the U.S. Government has said, this primarily depends on the discontinuation by the United States and its allies of the measures against our country which seriously hinder Poland's efforts to overcome its economic difficulties and increase industrial production and exports.

Esteemed comrades! The public assesses the effectiveness of economic policies according to the market situation, in the main, according to what is on the shelves in the shops. This in turn depends, above all, on the range and quality of market production. Next year, according to current assumptions, it should rise at a rate 50 percent above the general level of the production increase. This will affect, in

particular, those goods regarding which the market shortages are the keenest: for instance, products of the light industry, of the electrical-technical industry, fittings for the home. Going by the current assessments made by the heads of the ministries, there is a chance that in 1984 the production of some of them will achieve the level of 4 years ago. This could be the case with washing machines, refrigerators and freezers, sewing machines and vacuum cleaners, footwear, glass, and ceramics for the table, curtains, and childrens' wear. There should be no shortage of plow shares, chains, and various farm tools [czarne narzedzie] in the countryside. In order for this to happen, market production should be given a high priority in the supply of raw and other materials. The work forces and directors of enterprises that create market goods also have to be mobilized to a high degree.

The food market calls for the greatest attention on our part. There are chances of ensuring that it is adequately supplied in the current year. However, this does not apply to meat and meat products. The breakdown of animal husbandry means that in 1984 the production and purchase of animals for slaughter will be at a low level. In this situation a fundamental task will be to maintain the current level of ration norms. They should not be reduced. The road leading to a lasting improvement in the food market passes through a consistent maintenance of the essential level of profitability of agricultural production and of the proper relations between the costs of this production and the procurement prices, as well as between procurement prices and retail prices.

This is to be served by the envisaged increase in the retail prices of food. Its draft is at present the subject of social consultation. This must be a genuine consultation so that its results enable the acceptance of such solutions which will be the least painful to society, which take into account most aptly not only the economic but also the social aspects of the issue. The consultation should at the same time make society aware of the purpose of these changes and of the relationships between a growth in production and its profitability and between prices and market stability. The experiences of the last decade clearly show that a neglect of the above relationships leads to a collapse of production and of the agricultural market, and therefore to a drastic rise in prices. It is necessary to draw conclusions from these experiences. That is why we intend never again to sever the ties between food procurement prices and food retail prices. Maintaining these ties should become a permanent principle of our country's economic policy. In those sectors of the food market where this principle has been applied for a long time, positive results are being achieved, for example the fruit and vegetable market.

While speaking about food and its prices, one cannot fail to stress the need for greater care for food quality. This is also one way to better meet the needs of society and protect family budgets better. Society is particularly sensitive to the functioning of the market. Therefore, matters connected with the market's functioning must be tackled with great scrupulousness, with knowledge, and with feeling. All information about the market situation evokes a strong response in society and in people's reactions. This does not just apply to official information and announcements. Everyone must bear this in mind, whether he is writing a press article, issuing a communique, or being interviewed. Even nonbinding statements, forecasts, or personal assessments are regarded as official. If, for example, our country is carelessly portrayed as a world power concerning milk, it is no surprise that even a justified decision to restore the rationing of butter and other fats does not meet with society's understanding. Decisions should be made more carefully and more slowly, and society should be better prepared to correctly understand and accept them. This task involves not only the bodies of government. For example, we know that the Polish Insurance Company is preparing new insurance premiums for car insurance. A casual communique on this matter is not enough. Society ought to be presented with honest explanations why these increases in premiums are necessary. Housing associations should act in a similar way when they decide that rent increases are necessary.

Our party must be sensitive not only to the irregularities in the implementation of the general directional trends of socioeconomic policy, but to an equal extent it must perceive and inspire the solution of matters which are seemingly superficial, everyday annoyances. The failure to settle such matters in time causes critical opinions to pile up about the functioning or outright incompetence of the authorities in general.

There are still many matters which give rise to society's criticism, the functioning of trade enterprises, for example. Often, goods which are lacking in some shops are lying in warehouses or in the storerooms of other shops. Social inspections continue to uncover goods hidden under the counter for selected customers. Many indignant voices are roused by the principles for the sale of petrol, facilitating speculation. It is an open secret that for an appropriate additional sum, one can fill one's tank without having one's card stamped. In these, and many similar, reprehensible cases, effective mechanisms and remedial measures to liquidate these socially harmful phenomena have not yet been introduced. The institutions and persons responsible for this should start removing the irregularities and their causes without delay.

Comrades, society's reaction to improvements in the market situaton depends to a huge extent on the effectiveness of the fight against inflation and a decrease in the rate of price rises. Solving this important problem for working people continues to be one of the chief goals of the party's economic program.

The rate of inflation has been reduced this year. Even so, the rate is still high, higher than foreseen in the plan. We believe it is necessary to wage a more effective battle against price rises in 1984. These price rises should be considerably lower than the ones this year, taking into account the proposed food price rises on which consultations are being currently held.

With this in mind, modifications to the economic reform are being prepared. The question is to stabilize costs in production and trade, increase the range of goods to which official prices are attached, make prices dependent on the quality of products and services, and counteract unjustified price rises. These modifications will be consistently introduced.

More frequent use must also be made of the legal possibility of freezing official prices from time to time, establishing ceilings for price rises in certain categories of goods, and even depriving dishonest enterprises of the right to fix prices themselves. These tools for combatting price rises are not being used fully and effectively.

Speaking about prices, one must not forget that just as a high body temperature is only a symptom of an illness, a price increase is only the external sign of complex inflationary processes taking place in the economy. And so, just as the lowering of a high temperature does not mean the end of the illness, so artifically halting price increases does not mean inflationary processes are being fought. It is only the forms in which they appear which undergo change. They are the well-known empty shelves, the long lines waiting for hours at the shops, the black market, speculation, theft, simply, the broadening of the circle of social demoralization.

Therefore, one must combat price increases by removing their sources, which are: the imbalance of the monetary incomes of the population with the supplies of goods and services to the market, and an increase in production costs. This intention is contained in the government's anti-inflation and savings programs. The struggle to implement these programs is a struggle against inflation and a struggle for lower prices.

The curbing of inflation depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of the policy whereby "money is hard to come by." This policy strictly involves making every zloty

of profits earned by an enterprise dependent on a real growth in production and a reduction in the costs of production.

The banks have already stepped up control of the managements of state enterprises and cooperatives. Several dozen enterprises which failed to embark on actions recommended by the banks, actions designed for their financial health, have been refused further loans. The lack of bank loans puts in question the further, independent existence of these enterprises. In short they are threatened by bankruptcy. This must signal an alarm for their managements, party organizations, workers self-management, and trade unions. They should as urgently as possible find a path to a healthy financial status.

For some, this path may mean a merger with another, better-managed enterprise. Further exacerbation of economic coercion could create many problems for badly managed and inefficient enterprises. But there is no other road if the national effort is to be more productive and more conducive to improving the living conditions of the working man.

The policy of "money hard to come by" should mean a cut in the range of concessions, exemptions, & preferences available. There is no shortage of discrepancies in this sphere this year. There are too many concessions being offered for various reasons. As a form of influence on an enterprise, they have lost their value. Concessions have been fixed in the past without a proper knowledge of an enterprise's financial situation. The weaknesses that occur are often the result of poor interministerial coordination. And this demands an improvement.

In party activity, we should still devote a lot of attention to housing construction, for obvious reasons. The party stance on this matter worked out during the 9th and 10th plenums of the Central Committee remains fully valid. Much has been done to create favorable conditions for the development of housing construction. The chief barriers hindering this development today are shortages of building materials and shortages of plots of land, especially for one-family dwellings. It is urgently necessary to work out how to increase the production and supply of building materials of which there is a shortage. Institutions dealing with government orders should be used for this purpose. The expected law on plots of land should help solve the problem of a shortage of building sites, which in some voivodships is the chief obstacle hindering the development of housing construction. Unfortunately, work on this law will take an uncomfortably long time. We believe that the PZPR Deputies Club should make an effort so that the law on plots of land and on the purchase of fixed assets be quickly finalized.

Greater involvement by citizens and greater assistance by work places should shorten the road to receiving living accommodation. The government has adopted a favorable resolution on the participation of socialized work places in satisfying the accommodation needs of their workforces. This resolution foresees the possibility of these work places rendering considerable financial and material assistance to those employees of theirs who are building their own housing. It creates new possibilities for the development of housing financed from factory housing funds, bank loans, and the funds of employees themselves. In many factories, these possibilities are already being used, mainly on the party's initiative. Where this has not yet occurred, the inspirational activity of factory committees and the energetic participation of Union of Polish Socialist Youth bodies are needed.

Esteemed comrades, voices are being heard that nowadays it does not pay to work honestly, that nothing has been done to remunerate good work properly. They confirm the meaning of the correct principles for pay in enterprises and cooperatives. In line with the economic reform, as early as last year enterprises and cooperatives received important rights concerning the shaping of their own factory pay systems. It may be recalled that a broad social consultation is concerned with further widening these rights and thus increasing enterprises' independence.

We consider that the granting of increased rights should begin in January 1984. It must be stated clearly at this juncture, however, that this will not be tantamount to an automatic wage increase. The means for a wage increase must be achieved by enterprises in line with the principle of self-financing.

It is also necessary to underscore that the exploitation of increased rights for shaping effective pay systems is in the hands of enterprises themselves. Last year's practice shows that many of them have availed themselves of these opportunities. For example, the railroad rolling stock repair workshops in Nowy Sacs have introduced a new wage system that makes the wage level dependent on work quality and also takes the difficult work conditions into account. In the Dolmel plant in Wroclaw, rules for bonuses and wages have been worked out where special bonuses are payable for economizing on materials and making efficient use of working time.

The pay system in the Lodz Poltex deserves mention. Various supplements not related to the quantity and quality of work have been dropped there. The pay system introduced in Radoskor, which has been widely reported by the press, has ensured in this first year a 25 percent increase in productivity. The common factor of these examples is the independent quest for the best method in each enterprise for the implementation of the socialist principle "each according to his work."

Unfortunately, the majority of enterprise managements are still waiting for guidelines. They demand some detailed solutions from the top, and work forces are asking: When will the new pay system be known? Most often questions are being asked of the top, while the reply should be given at the bottom. A good wage system can only be created by the enterprise, no one can make a good wage system from outside. In this regard it is worth asking: Why do so few enterprises show proper initiative in this respect? The causes are to be found not only in the lack of appropriate abilities, but in attitudes. Some simply lack courage; the introduction of new pay principles demands that work norms be sorted out with changes in the employment structure, and these are difficult matters. However, without them there can be no close link between pay and productivity.

Managements of these enterprises would prefer to have someone else do it for them; they do not want the responsibility. To properly remunerate is to know how to honestly assess results of a worker or workers' team; it also means that workers who achieve good results will get high remuneration, perhaps even very high, while those who work poorly, whose productivity is low, who waste raw materials, and make products of indifferent quality will perhaps receive even smaller muneration. This will create increased pay differentials, but differentials based on the results of work, in accordance with socialist principles of social justice. This will be opposed only by those who consider that the policy of the authorities should be governed by the principle of equality to all. They argue: We have equal stomachs; true, but we do not all have equal qualifications, enthusiasm, willingness to work, and, most important, equal results.

The changes to wages regulations in enterprises are presenting an urgent need to work out the principles of a central wages policy as well as how to implement this policy. The independence of enterprises cannot mean that the state forsakes its responsibility regarding shaping wages.

What should the central wages policy contain? It should establish a growth rate of wages in relation to the growth of productivity and the correct wages proportions between different branches of industry and between the productional and nonproductional spheres of industry. A wages policy should encourage a professional activation by society. This policy's task is also to establish minimum and maximum wage levels. It is also necessary to urgently set in order the wage affairs of state enterprise and cooperative managements.

The state must conduct an active wage policy in relation to all groups of the population. Its important aim is to shape appropriate relations between the level of wages in the socialized economy and incomes in the nonsocialized sector. All deviations in this field are being sharply criticized, particularly by the working class. In accordance with working class demands, essential changes have been introduced in the taxation of Polonia firms, the taxation of trades has been modified, also far-reaching corrections have been introduced in the franchise system.

From the beginning of this year the principle of close scrutiny of costs and turnover in highly profitable units of private initiative has been in force. The scope of the scrutiny will be widened. Also, work has been completed on the new tax system for individual agriculture, which will be introduced next year. We consider that accepted formal and legal solutions create sufficient opportunities for acting on the shaping of incomes of the nonsocialized sector according to demands of socialist principles of social justice.

Now the problem for the local authorities and the finance apparatus is how to properly exploit these opportunities. This effort needs personnel reinforcement and its work needs support on the part of the community. The same prerequisite applies to effectively combatting fiscal and economic offenses. A change in social attitude toward them is needed, too. In practice fiscal fraud often meets with complacency and even appreciation, though it is nothing but theft and is harmful to society.

This is why it is necessary to create an atmosphere of universal condemnation. In fighting against these phenomena we do not alter our policy toward trades, private workshops, or private enterprises which act according to the law. Their activities are needed. They enrich the home market with additional goods and indispensible services. But we have embarked on a determined struggle, and we will not cease to fight those who exploit the facade of Polonia firms or private entrprise for a criminal seizure of national revenue and for the corruption of employees of the socialized economy sector.

The people's state declared a determined struggle against economic crime in all its manifestations. Speculation, theft, bribery, and squandering are dangerous phenomena which oppose the interests of the honest working citizens. The effectiveness of the work done by the prosecution, and administration of justice is improving. The range of civic control is widening. The results are already tangible. The detection of economic offenses has improved. The value of retrieved social property has increased. But not all offenses come to light, and not all perpetrators experience the punishment they deserve. Therefore, we need further improvement in the work of bodies of state and finance control, prosecution, and the administration of justice.

They should intensify their activities and more effectively utilize the existing legal norms. Penal and penal-fiscal sanctions for economic offenses should be stepped up. This is being met halfway, among other things by the government draft bill amending a number of penal law regulations, which was sent to the Sejm recently. It provides, for instance, for an increase of fines based on the Penal Code up to Z5 million, a quadruple increase of fines for fiscal offenses, including tax offenses, as well as severe penal responsibility for the destruction of technical installations in economic buildings.

Neither he who appropriates property nor he who, disregarding his duties, allows the squandering of social means, can count on impunity.

Comrades, the second year of economic reform is coming to an end. We can make a deeper analysis of its results today than we could during the 10th Central Committee Plenum, although it is still too early for a comprehensive and mature analysis; for the effects of the reform will only be fully visible later on. Some of the reform's solutions have only been functioning for a short time. There are still profound disproportions in the economy that distort the activity of economic mechanisms.

Taking all these minuses into account, one can still say that the new principles of the economy's functioning are exerting an increasingly stronger influence on people, enterprises, and the entire economy. The idea of the reform has gained the support of party and nonparty people. Changes in the way of thinking of society and also in the way of thinking and acting of the economic cadres are becoming more and more noticeable, even though some of them are clinging to their old habits and are unwilling to learn anything new.

The economic balance sheet is becoming an important basis for decisions by enterprises and other units of the economy. Granting enterprises far-reaching independence and introducing self-financing to them have served to encourage the initiative of the workforces and the leadership cadres and have speeded up adaptation to the new, more complex development conditions.

However, these political transformations do not have the participation of all enterprises. Although there are more and more enterprises that are making correct use of the possibilities presented by the reform, there are still some that use these possibilities wrongly, for the sake of achieving the greatest advantages possible -- out of proportion to the amount of work put in and at the cost of other enterprises and the entire community. We still have enterprises as well where nothing is happening, where marasmus reigns and where they are waiting for a "push from the top." The periodic analyses made by our party's Central Auditing Commission confirm these views.

Practice has shown that there are still many weaknesses, both in the systemic solutions and in their implementation. These weaknesses are the subject of constant discussion in party organizations inside enterprises, and also by broad cross sections of society. The conclusions and experiences stemming from these discussions have to date helped carry out further modifications to some systemic solutions. As we know, the government has already decided on these modifications. A report on them has been conveyed to you, comrades. The adopted decisions meet the demands that have been expressed halfway, and their introduction in the beginning of 1984 should help fulfill the goals of socioeconomic policy.

Against the background of these modifications, some sections of society and also some party aktivs bear certain reservations: Are we not making the changes too quickly? Are we not departing from the line laid down by the ninth congress? It is true that good management requires stable conditions. But it is also true that if economic mechanisms are to be effective, they must be adapted to the changing conditions and the changing reality of management. It ought to be repeated that the reform is not an aim in itself and that its solutions ought to be assessed according to the way they help achieve the socioeconomic goals that have been set. To put it briefly, one should act according to the principle: "As many changes as necessary, as much stability as possible."

One can also come across the view that we are departing from the basic principles of the reform. This view results from a misunderstanding. For the modifications do not violate the reform principles laid down at the ninth congress. Their purpose is on the one hand to offer a greater encouragement for enterprises to manage themselves efficiently, and on the other hand to better equip the central level of administration with economic tools for steering the economy. The government's responsibility for implementing the national plan demands this. The modifications should also help implement the government savings and anti-inflation programs.

An urgent task right now is to complete the delayed work on legal directives which contain detailed decisions and conclusions. These should get through to enterprises as quickly as possible so that the enterprises may take the systemic changes into account during work on their own 1984 plans.

Speaking about the reform, we have grown accustomed to thinking about enterprises. This is correct, for the effectiveness of the entire economy depends in the end on what is happening inside the economy's primary bodies -- the enterprises. We know, however, that the activity of enterprises depends to a large degree on the effectiveness of economic policy and on the way in which decisions are made at the central level and implemented. This demands an efficient central level of administration and a clear definition of the powers of its individual bodies; it also demands equipping them with the essential instruments. This applies especially to executive bodies. Therefore, it is necessary to work out how the activity of ministries and central offices should be adapted to the new principles of economic functioning, and to speed up this adaptation. It is also necessary to master the art of planning and centrally administering the economy through the use of the new economic tools and mechanisms. This is an important factor in the reform's success.

Esteemed comrades, in itself, management is a complex social process. Constantly monitoring this process, recognizing its correct features in detail, and drawing practical conclusions from this are indispensable conditions for the successful involvement of social mechanisms in implementing the party's program.

The changes to the national economy's system of functioning which have been introduced beginning 2 years ago are based, above all, on increasing working people's participation in running the economy. The party desires the establishment of socioeconomic development goals and the implementation of these goals. The question is to emphasize the fundamental role of the working man and to consult him for his opinion as widely as possible. Increasing society's participation in jointly managing the economy is no passing fashion nor a requirement dictated by a juncture of events. It is one of the conditions of socialism. Experience shows that whenever the participation of working people in shaping economic reality has been limited, this has caused lower results achieved by social labor and a delay in reaching socioeconomic goals.

These goals are being reached, above all, at factories, at individual working positions. This is where an answer should be given to the question: How should the aims of the national plan be translated into the language of an enterprise's plan, and then how should the language of the enterprise's plan be converted into tasks and comprehensible encouragement at every work position and inside every collective and work brigade? What material and nonmaterial motivations should be used to make each worker contribute to the successful implementation of general social aims? Therefore, we should pay more attention in party activity to the individual attitudes of workers, to motivations for them, to correct working conditions, to a good atmosphere inside work places, and to social security matters.

Party organizations must be as much concerned with the above matters as with matters concerning production and wages. A program of social undertakings should become an integral part of every enterprise's and every cooperative's plan. This plan should include how to improve working conditions, increase work safety, restrict health hazards at work, and protect premises and social facilities. Special care should be paid to proper working conditions during the winter. We expect that the Social Work Inspectorate, which has been set up by the trade unions, will play an important role in all of the above activities. The Inspectorate has been equipped with all the necessary powers to do this.

Comrades, the economic front is an area of fierce political combat. The political enemy is using rumors containing invented ideas about the state of the economy. He is painting apocalyptic visions about economic oppression of the Poles. He is using all possible means to aggravate people's natural fears about their daily existence. He spares no effort to deprive people of hope and discourage them from working. Once he referred to a "tortoise-like work rate," and now he is undertaking actions which hit at the implementation of government orders. In his passion, the enemy has forgotten that these orders are a way of guaranteeing the production of the most necessary goods

such as drugs, children's articles, clothing, footwear, and food production resources. He ironically calls for these actions for the good of the Poles, as he puts it. Look what blindness and a hatred of socialism can lead to. A wide, information-propaganda activity by the party and by the mass media should help unmask the enemy's real countenance and his real intentions.

In accordance with the 13th plenum resolution, a priority matter for party organizations in work places is to cultivate an economic awareness and develop systematic publicity and educational activity in order to acquaint the workers both with the country's economic situation and with what is happening inside the work place, what its results are, and what these results mean to the entire work force and to the individuals who belong to it. Good, honest, and early information and explanations are an essential part of political work among work forces, a weapon against rumors, and a sign that one is sensitive to matters concerning more than one person. After all, an understanding of the economic reality is a condition behind the liberation of initiative, the struggle against evil and waste, and the cultivation of the habit of general economization. In a word, it is a condition behind the shaping of social and citizen-like attitudes.

Under economic reform conditions, work places are becoming important forums for coordinating general social interests with the interests of individual work collectives. When working out their stance toward the plans of enterprises, party organizations should consider to what extent these plans combine the interests of all society expressed in the national plan with the possibilities and needs of individual work places. In their assessment of the factory plan, party organizations should also consider to what extent the plan guarantees progress in solving the social problems of the work force.

The party organizations should participate actively in working out just motivation systems, which should materially and morally give preference to people who work well, creating for them chances to have vocational and social advancement, to enable them to make a well-conceived career, to popularize their achievements.

Social justice means more than just wage systems. How much bad blood is created by every incorrect decision, by a derogatory attitude to issues raised by the working people! This concerns housing decisions and decisions on the allocation of work, provision of materials and tools, and correct work organization.

Unjust decisions in the abovementioned matters cause a feeling of being wronged, disappointment with the authorities, and often feelings of disappointment with the system. So much depends on specific people, on their attitudes and good will, on sincere gestures. That is why in these everyday matters of the working people there is a need for special party sensitivity, interest, and control.

The reform does not prevent the appearance of particular interests and aims. These may appear in the form of a struggle to obtain concessions, preferences, and subsidies, instead of a struggle to find better ways of managing resources by means of one's own work. This could weaken the resolve of workers collectives to work efficiently and be resourceful. The party's duty is to counteract any such trends and reveal the general social harm caused by these trends.

The distribution of the assets produced by an enterprise requires greater commonsense. Despite an improvement, we are still faced with the fact that most of an enterprise's profits are distributed to meet the immediate needs of the work force, with no regard to the enterprise's future development needs. This is a short-sighted method. It is used by managements who wish to buy the clear approval of the work forces at the cost of limiting the enterprise's development chances. A party organization is primarily meant to defend the interests of working people, but even so it should point out the economic and social harm of such behavior for the sake of well-understood interests

which do not end when the year comes to an end. Restricting the resources available for development means restricting the consumer possibilities of the future and the creation of potential danger and dissatisfaction on the part of the work forces. It is in the interests of the work forces that party organizations speak out loudly on this subject.

The prevention of conflict situations should become an important feature of political work. Experience shows that most of the conflicts that have occurred because of wages or working conditions could have been avoided if managements had listened to the voices of workers earlier and if activity to eliminate the sources of the tension had been undertaken in good time. Party organizations in work places should possess a system of detecting potential unrest and conflicts. They should explain the causes behind conflicts in good time and inspire the management to undertake necessary action to remove these causes.

The development of workers' self-management bodies encourages the development of the activity of the working people, as well as the strengthening of the trade union movement. In nearly all state-run enterprises there are workers' councils. About one-third of the socialized sector employees belong to trade unions, and the number of trade union members are increasing systematically. More and more active functioning of workers self-government encourages more direct involvement of work forces in the issues of production and shaping of socialist relations in work enterprises.

The solicitude of trade unions for employees' interests is increasingly linked with understanding of the economic tasks of enterprises. Trade unions' cooperation with workers self-government means a realistic possibility for the work force to shape the socioeconomic prospects of their work enterprises.

Even if motives for actions and spheres of interest of trade unions are not identical with motives and spheres of action of workers' self-management bodies, the competition of differing points of view, direct actions, and long-term interest creates conditions for achieving a compromise between the social and welfare demands of the employees and the development of enterprises. This also gives the party a change to undertake energetic political actions.

The practice proves that development of an enterprise cannot be achieved without the socially accepted solutions by enterprises in the welfare, wages, and housing spheres. Similarly, one cannot realize the social aspirations of a work force without balancing them with relevant economic results. That is why it is essential to have close cooperation of workers' self-management and trade union organizations, which integrates the economic sphere with the social sphere. The 13th Central Committee Plenum confirmed yet again the stance of the party on the issue of workers' self-management and trade unions. The party organizations should focus on giving the correct importance to these units of socialist democracy in enterprises. The point is, in particular, to provide correct conditions for implementation of their statutory functions.

Esteemed comrades, we are ending the first year of implementation of the 3-year plan. Its results confirm that we are going along the correct path, that the party program is passing the test in practice, that goals assumed are realistic and that we are capable of achieving these goals.

Nevertheless, we cannot slow our pace for even a moment, for many difficult problems still remain before us. The road to a full realization of the complex goals is still a long one. Intensified effort, unity in action, will be necessary to reach its end. Thus, the whole party, its organizations, still face difficult and highly responsible tasks. The degree to which a further unification of the social forces takes place to realize the socioeconomic goals in 1984 and the entire 3-year plan will largely depend

on the work of the party organizations, on the effectiveness of their political activity among work forces, on their ability to get people moving. Thank you for your attention.

Ministries Consulted on Economy

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[PAP report]

[Excerpts] On 18 November the discussions of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, began with the participation of a group of worthy veteran workers. Its subject was the country's socioeconomic situation and the assumptions of the plan for 1984.

Stanislaw Gebala, head of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department, briefed the members of the plenum on the organizational side of ministry meetings that aim to acquaint the plenum with an appraisal of the situation in certain sectors of the economy, as well as to submit remarks and opinions on appropriate parts of the Central Annual Plan; heads of ministries are bound to reply to questions that cannot be answered in writing within a month. PZPR Central Committee members went to the following ministries: Mining and Energy; Metallurgy and Machine Industry; Chemical and Light Industry; Construction and Construction Materials Industry; the Office of Maritime Economy; Agriculture and Food Economy; Communications; Domestic Trade and Services; Health; and Finance; as well as to the following offices: the Office of Materials Management, Price Affairs, and the Government Plenipotentiary for the Economic Reform.

Economic Reform

During the meeting at the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Economic Reform, much was said about ways to strengthen the principles of the reform beginning in 1984. The work done on amendments and corrections took about 6 months, and the proposed solutions were subjected to a broad review before they were ratified by the Council of Ministers in September 1983. As Minister Wladyslaw Baka said, the planned changes are the logical consequence of the way the economic reform has been implemented to date. These corrections cannot in any way be treated as a departure from the economic reform. The need to introduce them was decided, above all, by changing economic conditions. We also know more about the future because we have a clearer picture of the first phase of the reform. We could, in this situation, carry out a complex review of the mechanisms and the instruments of the reform, as well as find the kind of solutions that would be more effective in bringing us closer to achieving the kind of reform capable of reaching its goal. It is worth stressing that the amendments that have been approved are of a permanent nature and are part of the compulsory mechanisms of the reform. We are entering 1984 with changes that make the whole system more stable and bring the principles behind the functioning of the economy closer to the model that was determined by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The most important amendments to the reform's mechanisms that were proposed were presented during the meeting. The most important of these concerns prices, and proposes, among other things, to extend the scope of official prices.

Important changes are also being introduced in the fiscal system. It is planned that turnover tax will have a linear nature. Aside from this, it is planned to maintain the debit system for the Vocational Activization Fund, with certain amendments, and a law has also been prepared on wage experiments.

The meetings' participants asked many questions and presented numerous opinions on the proposed amendments and also on the phemomena that go hand in hand with the implementation of economic reform in general. The need for consistent implementation of the basic regulations of the economic game that has been created by the reform was indicated. The problem of bureaucracy was mentioned in relation to contacts between banks and enterprises, and the participants also spoke of the problems connected with the future centralized reform. The functioning of the equalizing tax was critically assessed and it was pointed out that there is a need for better training and dissemination of information about the reform. Generally speaking, the opinion was expressed that the amendments that will be compulsory from next year are advantageous since they serve to discipline our economy.

Replying to the question, of whether the reform is still the same reform that we were considering 2 years ago, Minister Baka said that generally speaking it is. There has not been a time in Poland's postwar history when formal changes have been so far-reaching. We have already accomplished a great deal. However, the point is that we should not stop half way. It is important that the reform not be "diluted" through minor deviations that would, after a certain point, lead to a situation where we could only then talk about the reform. We would find ourselves in a pitfall as a result of such activities. It is important that the main political force, which is the party, appreciate the historical necessity of the reform and be resolved to consistently implement it.

Chemical and Light Industry

The problems of market production dominated the discussion carried out at a session of the team that gathered together at the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry. Many questions were put to Minister Edward Grzywa and Jerzy Gwiazdzinski, under secretary of state of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, concerning the difficulties that this industry's plants are struggling against. They also put forward many remarks and proposals.

It was reported that during the last three quarters of 1983 the value of sold production in this ministry was [figure indistinct] higher than a year ago. The Council of Ministers' resolution that permitted an increase in workers' wages in exchange for additional market production backed by contracts, was successfully implemented. From this alone, market supplies should increase by about Z40 billion by the end of the year. This has, at the same time, allowed us to stop the harmful exodus of labor from certain plants of the light industry.

A completely new situation has come about in certain sectors of the industry -- the beginnings of a buyers' market. An example of this which is already classic, are toiletries, the production of which must still be restricted because they do not sell.

An improvement has also taken place in the supply of certain other goods, but comparisons with last year, which was a poor year, are deceptive. If we compare the current activities of enterprises with their 1980 results, then we will see that only nine groups of market goods exceeded their 1980 level of production.

As far as the prospects for 1984 are concerned, the management of the ministry believes it is possible to increase production by 5 percent. However, it appears from the proposals put forward by enterprises that the contribution of market goods to the structure of this production will not be satisfactory. We must hope that the work forces will themselves force the enterprise managements to increase their plans in order to increase their wages.

The participants in the meeting spoke of the obstacles that prevented the growth of production, for instance, overused machines, a shortage of spare parts, and so on; they

also drew attention to the lack of judgment that enterprises show regarding the supply of materials and raw materials they need, as well as their ignorance of the economic rules of the game that will be enforced in 1984. We are particularly concerned about the Vocational Activization Fund and the priorities that will be applied to light industry. Cadre shortages were also pointed out along with the need, in connection with this, to change the structure of employment by transferring part of the white collar workers to blue collar positions. It is necessary, it was said, to nevertheless begin by limiting unnecessary report-writing and other bureaucratic activities with which the administration of enterprises is still burdened.

The meeting became an occasion to clear up many doubts while the ministry's management indicated phenomena that are occuring in enterprises whose work forces were represented by some of the meeting's participants.

Domestic Trade and Services

The problems facing the market, as well as the supply of food and industrial goods, to the people and their quality were the subject of a meeting with the management of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services.

From the information presented it appears that in 1983 the shortage of these goods amounts to Z100 billion, compared to almost Z300 billion last year. Supplies to the shops have doubled and there has also been a fall in the average consumption of certain foods. However, the prospects for next year do not suggest it will be any easier. The shortage of goods will partly be supplemented by increased exports. In the opinion of traders, gone are the partner-like relations they enjoyed with producers who exploit the unbalanced market and impose unfavorable conditions for the sale of their goods, which are, in the majority of cases, of poor quality. Among food products, this mainly concerns sausages and bread, while on the industrial side it concerns a whole range of household, radio, and television equipment. Trade has also come across difficulties in adapting the structure of production to the needs of the national market. There is an urgent need to intensify the criteria by which people judge quality, and to impose much stricter contractual fines on the producers of goods with hidden defects and of low quality.

The meeting's participants, who presented both their own observations and the opinions of their professional circles, had many reservations concerning the organizational activities of domestic trade. The market, and especially the food market is, in their view, also a political matter. Society frequently bears grievances to the party for incompetence in taking advantage of agricultural production, the gifts of nature, and for many "bad harvests," when it is, after all, the traders who are to blame.

The plenum's participants gave many examples of bad management and lack of initiative. For example, the storage of grain on barges is very expensive, but we are still not building cheaper warehouses or stores. Supplies to many fruit procurement points were rejected although it would not have been so had these points had some seasonal processing plants in operation there. The milk procurement situation is, after all, similar in many regions. The quality and the prices of many goods was likewise criticized.

The distribution of produced goods also appears unfavorable. It was said that despite the premier's recommendation, certain voivodships are directing products to their own markets, so that workers in Radom must, for example, travel to Lodz for underwear and hosiery. Trade also lacks a clear development structure. The ministry's new initiatives as, for example, in the Ponal enterprise, are treated by people as new work places for...the administration. Services get complaints from both sides of the coin, as they are too expensive for the customer and too cheap for the people who perform them. This is why 58,000 people have left their jobs in the services, the majority of whom are now working for Polonian firms, which continue to inspire diverse social feelings.

Prices and Incomes

The recently proposed food price increase provided the background for a discussion at the meeting that was held in the Office of Prices. The main subject of discussion was the general problems connected with the price and wages policy. Referring to the effects of the proposal to increase food prices, Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski said that they should only be applied in relation to goods whose production involves raw materials to which the new price proposals have been applied. There are, indeed, no reasons for the proposed increase to be applied to other goods, especially industrial goods. The plants assumptions for 1984 estimate a general growth in prices of about 15 percent. Half this growth will be the result of the increases that took place this year. The new increases, which concern industrial goods, should not exceed 4 percent.

Many of the statements made at the discussion stressed that there is still no efficient linkage between wages, prices, and the cost of living. This is also why smoothing out the upward trends of the latter continues to depend on social criteria, because of the relatively limited budget potential of the state in this field. It is the old age and invalidity pensioners who are, above all, in a difficult situation along with workers from the non-productive sphere. Those who are, on the other hand, employed in industrial plants can make up for the cost of living increases more quickly. This is one of the reasons why we have had so little success in stopping inflationary processes. Wage increases continue to be at a faster rate than the production results we have obtained. Certain enterprises are increasing their wage funds by upping the price of their goods. This is favored by their monopolistic position on the market. This kind of phenomenon has been criticized along with the criteria for fixing official prices. This was discussed with reference to the issue of subsidies. In the opinion of certain speakers, the enterprises that receive subsidies are not in fact interested in a reduction of production costs. Proposals were put forward to solve the subsidy issue in a different way, for instance, to give them to trade. This should not be opposed, it was stressed, by considerations of an official or administrative nature.

One of the important aspects of the price policy, it was stressed, was also its versatility. In the past it would have been necessary to apply the principle of small increases (as long as they were economically justified and absolutely necessary) that were made more frequently, because it is easier to adapt family budgets to a system like this.

Much attention was also given to the issue of respecting the principle of social justice in the prices and incomes policy. Examples of certain groups of people amassing fortunes as a result of the crisis were pointed out while others spoke with concern of the growing diversification of incomes and their inappropriate relation to the work that was done.

The issue of taking additional work also inspired much discussion. Without rejecting this way of compensating for the increase in the cost of living, the participants did, however, point to the disproportion between the wages paid for extra work as opposed to those paid for basic work. Even today -- they gave as an example -- a doctor who works full-time in a hospital earns less than his income for the several hours of work a week he does in a cooperative surgery. It is therefore absolutely essential to make the wage system in the so-called sphere of the budget more efficient, because they are still too burdened with the shortcomings of the ordered distribution system. This is also why the bonus function of wages continues to be of small significance.

It must be strengthened within the whole economy because it is the only way of correctly relating the whole wage system with that of prices.

Report on Debates

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["Unauthorized summaries" of speeches made from the floor at 18-19 November 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Comrade Bogdan Borys, Central Committee member and fitter brigadier at the Bierut foundry in Czestochowa:

Halfway through this year the Bierut foundry developed a draft new system of wages for our workers, not all of whom are satisfied with this draft. They are awaiting something more. But where to get the money from? The metallurgical industry is unable to produce that money. That is why we have to choose: Either we will work on the basis of negotiated prices, which I personally regard as wrong, or we will be granted preferences within the framework of the economic reform, in line with its spirit. But what kinds of preferences? One preference would consist of making wages dependent on genuine reductions in costs. Let us, therefore, frankly say to metallurgical workers: If you save Zl million, you will get Z500,000.

The enterprises that fulfill contracts abroad exercise a great influence on the manpower situation, especially in the Bierut foundry. Large numbers of employees spend months and months on attempts to get into such enterprises instead of working in our foundry.

During almost 2 years of the implementation of the economic reform, workers have approved of its general principles and aims, but workers do not spend time on playing with theoretical considerations. They take the view that if the system in question is good, then it should be applied everywhere for everyone. I think it right that the central annual plan and budget legislation clearly state who is the recipient of preferences and concessions. However, this must not be something that contains the proverbial loopholes that anyone can get through. The feeling at the grassroots is that every ministry takes advantage of these loopholes and takes steps to get the best deal for itself. Let us create a situation in which there is a plan, a budget, and legislation and that the government as a whole, and not individual ministers, is responsible for them.

The people continue to ponder whether our Council of Ministers is a genuinely cohesive and homogeneous government. Or is it a federation of the individuals, each of whom works in line with his own concept? It is unfortunate that the economic reform and the party are blamed for the resulting failures in the economy and for the growing public discontent.

My speech at this plenum is based on the speeches from the floor during the accountability-election meetings of the party organization in our foundry. I have presented the observations and problems that were most often discussed by party members. It seems that some of these problems, and perhaps all of them, are present in other foundries in our country.

Comrade Andrzej Gdula, first secretary of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship PZPR Committee:

In our voivodship party body we have analyzed the changes in the structure of manpower in 40 enterprises of the light, electroengineering, and building industries in 1979-83, in which years manpower slumped by over 20 percent, including an over 25 percent slump of production workers, an over 17 percent slump of auxiliary workers, and only an 8 percent slump of administrative workers. These figures illustrate what is taking place.

It is impossible to improve the structure of manpower in enterprises through administrative measures or intervention. What is needed is economic mechanisms. This problem is being put with utmost emphasis before the party during the present accountability campaign.

We take the view that one way to improve the use of worktime is to conduct a correct, central wage policy and to ensure that motivational systems function effectively. The present solutions created under the economic reform have proved to be negative. They have become a typical barrier to production increases and work quality. We are unable to agree with the view that each enterprise can devise its own wage system. Wage principles must be the same through the national economy, but detailed solutions can differ from enterprise to enterprise.

In order to rationalize employment it is also most necessary to improve the planning of training cadres for the national economy. Today many high school graduates are without work. Secondary education is also unable to meet the needs.

We also take the view that the enormous social benefits that we indulge in are also responsible for the absence of production results. The present manpower in industry in Bielsko-Biala Voivodship amounts to 136,000 workers, but the number of pensioners and other receivers of annuities stands at 133,000 persons, which creates a ratio of almost 1 to 1. Of those 136,000 workers 50 percent are nonproduction workers, which means that a small group of people must produce a great deal of goods to meet everyone's needs.

There are innumerable social benefits, which people obtain through most varied channels. It is hard to list the institutions that have no funds to pay for social welfare. It is necessary to delegate the tasks of social welfare to a single organization that would grant assistance to the people who really need it. We propose that a special commission be set up to examine and verify the present legal regulations on social benefits. The results of this commission's work would have to be discussed with social organizations. We must sort out the entire sphere of social benefits. Otherwise we will not be able to shoulder this burden.

Comrade Zbigniew Abramowicz, Central Committee member and senior foreman for safety and hygiene in the Makoszowy coalmine in Zabrze, Katowice Voivodship:

I am disturbed by the unsatisfactory results of the economic reform as attested to in particular by the disproportions between the increasing incomes of the population and the availability of the goods to match these incomes. One of the crucial reasons for this state of affairs is the fact that the principles of the reform are still unable to help tap all the production reserves. Giving priority to profit, the economic reforms state that profit expresses the effectiveness of an enterprise's management. However, the fact is that in practice a large profit can be made in the absence of thrifty and rational economic management. Some enterprises, especially the so-called monopolistic enterprises, manage to make other producers or consumers to pay for their own ineffective economic management by hiking prices. This is one of the reasons for the spiral of costs, prices, and wages and, consequently, for the lack of balance between incomes and the flow of goods.

Last year the indicator of profitability stood at 8 percent and this year it stands at 4 percent in the coalmines, at least in the coalmines of our mining trust. We make a good use of our funds and the state subsidies, but we are afraid that cuts in subsidies may make an unfavorable impact on the development of many mines.

Miners continue to ask why the entire bituminous coal industry is unprofitable and why it has to be subsidized. Why is it that other branches of industry that use coal should profit from the good economic management of our coalmines -- good but requiring further improvements? We think that it is necessary to modify the official prices for coal, but these modifications should not add to the burdens of the population.

Comrade Artur Kwiatkowski, Central Committee member and individual farmer in Cetki village, Rypin Gmina, Wroclaw Voivodship:

I am going to risk postulating that in planning farm production, priority should be given to animal production, primarily to hog production. Why? When the prices on animals are low, farmers will go over to plant cultivation because it will produce larger profits for less effort. This is why we should give priority to animal production.

I will risk saying another thing: The rationing of meat will never be right and just. The inhabitants of large population centers will never be able to buy hogs direct from growers, from relatives, from friends, and so on like the inhabitants of smaller towns. On top of that such people buy their meat rations and enjoy extra meat. This is an injustice. The road is still long, but we must do all we can to abolish rationing.

I also think that implementing the plan involves not only organizational and investment work, but also political work to explain the situation. At present people are being consulted on the price hikes. I think that it is not enough that only party organizations and activists should explain to people the need for and the background of our measures. I would find it easier to work, speak, and explain if I were helped in this work by comrades from the ZSL and the SD and if everyone could see that agriculture is our joint cause and that we share responsibility for farm policy as we said at the 11th plenum. We share in government, but we also share responsibility for what takes place in our country.

We continue to talk with our countrymen about how to improve our economy and the organization of our life, but this talk is being hindered by the lying slanders spread by the hostile radio stations. Hired renegades continue to spit at our country and fatherland. We must tell our people, especially the young generation, that those renegades built a nest forthemselves precisely at the spot where the fuehrer of the Third Reich in the thirties had planned his criminal aggression against us -- in Munich. Those renegades are entrenched there and continue to lash out at us. That is why I think that speaking of economic activities today, we must bear in mind every day that ideological and political work and military activities are a must for us in our daily routine.

Most people are now on our side and no longer believe in rumors. People have gotten down to work. The climate in party organizations is now different. We must maintain this trend. Newly elected comrades assume their functions with utmost responsibility and regard them as a distinction.

Comrade Antoni Wrobel, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Factory committee at the Plock Petrochemical Company:

The solutions of the economic reform do generally work, but its shortcomings still continue to be painfully obvious. What I say is based on the views that are expressed at the petrochemical works, but I do not think these views are isolated. In June the authors of the reform promised that plants would know in October at the latest what will await them in 1984. We are into the middle of November and there have not been any final decisions. We should in future years fix the date by which it must be clear what the binding system for the following year will be.

One of the more difficult things is to translate economic plans into a language and tasks that are understandable to people who are directly involved in production. This is particularly difficult in industries where there is a breakdown of labor, which means the end product has been put together by several hundred people so that it is difficult to make an individual appraisal of their work, and this is often subjective.

Workers' self-management bodies and trade unions should play a basic role here, but 1983 was an organizational period for workers' self-management bodies and trade unions, and it is difficult to say that their potential has been fully exploited. Next year we should work toward better forms of cooperation or ways of having more effective influence on the work force as well as linking the interests of the plants with those of the people nationwide.

New ways of cooperation at plants between the reconstructed social structures come from practice. Life shows that there are certain shortcomings in political solutions that constitute the source of disputes about efficiency between trade unions and workers councils, even, for example, in the matter of the management of social and housing funds.

The next issue is that of wages and inflation. Opposing the phenomenon of separating productivity growth from the average wage is understandable and assessed as being necessary. Large industrial plants are in a difficult situation. Their role in supplying other branches of industry with materials and the absolute necessity of maintaining the rate of production which is connected with this, as well as the reconstruction of their fixed assets, forces them to carefully manage their profits and not to pay them out to the Vocational Activization Fund.

Such plants lose the race for wages with the neighbors that are less economical, they lose workers, and their political and economic managements are negatively assessed by the work forces. Differences in wages are rarely the result of differences in achieved effects; they more frequently result from the shortcomings of the binding regulations, from concessions, from the militancy of departments, and so on. It is urgent that we work out the concept behind our wage policy, compensate for unjustified disproportions between branches and sectors, as well as define the field for maneuver and freedom for plant bonus systems.

Comrade Jadwiga Nowakowski, Central Committee member and tailor at the Lodz Femina hosiery industry works:

The issues that particularly pervade my circle today include the proposed retail food price rises which people are now being consulted on. This is not a popular process; the workers are asking many questions to which there are still no replies, because how could one explain the fact that the effects of the organizational incompetence of the economy is constantly regulated by price changes and that the price for bad management, incompetence, and poor production quality is paid for by society, and first of all, by the worker?

The resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress are still fresh in our memories, as well as those in which we ratified the country's economic reform. However, why is the rate of these changes so slow? These problems are precisely the subject of a heated discussion in the party's electoral campaign that is now in progress. We have appraised the situation in light industry in our voivodship in order to find solutions, the implementation of which could bring the desired changes. We have observed a dangerous situation of the destabilization of the volume of production to a considerably lower standard than the one that we reached not so long ago. We have in fact noticed small and favorable changes concerning the implementation of the economic reform, mainly in the form of higher work productivity for each person, as well as in the fact that almost everyone now works on free Saturdays.

Obstacles, however, have occurred that are hard to overcome. The basic obstacle is employment, as we still cannot fill in the vacancies left by workers who have taken early retirement. Our cadres of auxiliary services and administrative as well as office workers have at the same time remained unchanged.

We have also observed dangerous symptoms of new administrative structures being formed, structures whose functions and activities have inspired serious doubts. How can we interpret the fact that there are seven institutions engaged in coordinating the production of work clothes in place of the one that functioned until 1982?

We were very glad to accept the Council of Ministers' resolution in this matter. Unfortunately, looking back after several months of implementing it, our observations are not optimistic. We are still unable to buy many textile machines from socialist countries. And what is worse, we have had no reports of receiving national deliveries of such machines.

Much criticism is voiced concerning enterprise managements at party meetings. There is still too much unconcern for the organization of work discipline, health and safety at work, and also personal relations. I think that the newly elected party authorities must face these problems in plants together with workers' self-management bodies and trade unions.

Comrade Walerian Solinski, Central Committee member and manager of the Dozamet metallurgical plant in Nowa Sola, Zielona Gora Voivodship:

The basic task of the Ninth Party Congress -- to halt the crisis slump of production, has been implemented. In our metallurgical plant we have increased sales by 18 percent this year. Work discipline and management have been clearly improved.

However, negative phenomena of the economic reform have also been revealed. For example, during the 2 years of the economic reform no reasonsable wage systems have been created. Wages continue to increase generally, but this is not matched by the necessary increase in productivity.

The dramatically unbalanced labor market is the basic reason for the bad functioning of the wage systems. Labor market shortages were particularly acute in the first half of 1982, at which time many enterprises were faced by the real danger of having to lower their production because of manpower troubles and switching off machines.

This state of affairs is intensifying. In order to keep their workers the enterprises continue to participate in something like a wage race. I am convinced that in this situation it is an illusion to try to reform wages without restoring the balance of employment. In this context I am worried by the lack of clearcut concepts regarding the labor market. It is impossible to find such concepts in the 1984 central economic plan.

At the beginning of 1982 we started implementing the economic reform. With enormous efforts we are slowly stemming the slumps caused by the crisis and are going up. The situation of the party is also improving, but here and there various controversial decisions are being made. I cannot believe that all this is just an accident. Such an accident would be exceptionally unfavorable to us.

Comrade Tadeusz Chmielak, Central Committee member and head of the Institute of Machines and Energy Installations of the Gliwice Polytechnical School:

Many party members are unable to understand the poor effectiveness of the central annual plan in the field of the production of goods. Doubts on the effectiveness of our 1984 plans in this regard continue to be registered. These doubts can be defined in a single sentence: One does not see the connection of economic policy and practice with the adopted scheme of priorities.

Comrade Marian Marek, Central Committee member and brigadier controller of quality in the Lublin truck plant:

On the basis of the situation of our plant I would like to discuss some important problems agitating the industrial workers class in connection with the economic reform. We support the reform, generally speaking, and think that there is no turning away from it. However, it should be improved in a wise and profoundly considered way. It should not be improved by the method of trial and error.

What disturbs us most are the proposed changes in fixing the basic wages fund for 1984 and in its increases. These changes may reduce wages, and this will be badly received by the work force, which sees these changes as an inadmissible retroactive application of the law.

The workers who do their jobs honestly are also against the waste of worktime. This waste is encouraged by the fact that identical wages are paid for the effectively worked time and for absence from work. The wage systems should reward actual work only.

That is why we will support all the initiatives in this direction. Our work force is deeply convinced that work is the only way out of the crisis. Lamenting about our difficult situation is useless. It is with difficulty that we are trying to reverse the slogan that the working people continue to believe in so frequently: "I will work effectively only if I get good wages."

This does not mean that our work force, which is having many difficulties, is unaware with the still evident glaring social contradictions. It is difficult for it to understand why it is easy for the people who hate work, especially those employed in large and well organized state enterprises, to make a good living. How is it that about 500 persons have become billionaires in Poland? Why is it that the persons for whose education our people have paid are willing to work in the private sector, even in jobs that are unrelated to their training or to work for foreign employers?

My experience of many meetings and of many views I have heard at these meetings shows that the industrial workers class and the working people are ready to maximally tighten their belts on the condition that everyone will tighten his belt.

Comrade Jozsef Smolarz, Central Committee member and individual farmer in Dys village, Niemce Gmina, Lublin Voivodship:

It is true that farmers are implementing the economic reform, but they have applied its principle for years. Otherwise they would have proclaimed farming bankrupt. Nevertheless, they have their own views about the present general situation. The issue is not price hikes, but the reasons for these hikes.

At present the economic reform is proceeding like a parade in Warsaw. Ochota [willingness -- pun on Ochota District] has already paraded and Wola [volition -- pun on Wola District] is just marching past -- the volition of thoese whose wages are below the national average. It is they who need reform and socialism. But the administration in charge of enterprises and its members carrying party cards take no interest in the reform because they need no reform.

There is no need for the reform to deal with prices. It should, above all, deal with work. One of the speakers preceding me said that, thanks to the reform, absenteeism in his enterprise employing 15,000 workers had dropped by 10 percent, that is, that several hundred workers began to come to do their jobs. How many workers did not come to work? Has the reform made them come to work? What has the reform to do with the fact that workers are paid wages for actual work and not just for graciously agreeing to be at work?

I attend accountability-election meetings. People at these meetings say that butter rationing was restored in a familiar way, for a purpose, and with malice aforethought.

People spoke of the arrogance of power in the previous period, but is it not the pinnacle of arrogance when the first secretaries of voivodship committees are not informed about such decisions? Let alone the fact that it is a bad farmer who does not know in May what will happen in October.

There are among comrade party members better comrades who call themselves "Grunwald." They continue to circulate a number of papers about the functionaries of our party, some of whom get very favorable writeups and some negative. I think a stand should be taken on this issue. Those papers say nothing about the idea, they speak of specific persons. But we must believe in those we elect and we must know what they really represent in their persons. This is the fundamental issue -- the issue of mutual trust.

There is no situation that cannot get better or worse. We farmers had expected that the situation would truly get worse within a 3-year period of transition. I do not say that our situation has improved, but it is not true that our workers' living standards are now worse than 5 years ago. This is absolutely false. Every worker will compensate price hikes by wage hikes. We will have to take bags to collect our wages, but the vicious circle will turn round and round ad infinitum.

We must stop this circle. It is not true that some unrest will be generated to protest this. It was not the workers class or the peasants that made such unrest. It was made only by those who were very well off. It is possible to isolate such people. If we get at loggerheads with each other we will never find a reasonable solution.

People talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat and about democracy. Democracy is the skill to make sacrifices for the community, but you cannot see that now. Where there is dictatorship, direct democracy is out of the question. It is necessary to have dictatorship. There is no other way out. Over 90 percent of our people will welcome such a decision. Only then will we be able to be sure that we act on behalf of the people. That thing with butter and many other things could have been done differently.

A question to end my speech. People say that the party is a party and the government is a government. But how does the first secretary feel when the government led by the premier cuts such capers? I am unable to answer this question.

Comrade Marian Kasprcycki, Central Committee member and fitter brigadier of the tool shop of the Pafawag State Railway Car Plant in Wroclaw:

Employment in our enterprise continues to slump step by step, mainly in direct production, because cooperatives and trades pay better wages. Last year some 370 workers left production. Workers in large enterprises get the lowest wages, and this threatens serious manpower difficulties.

The savings programs have not fulfilled hopes. They were developed in the old style and are being implemented in the old style. I have not seen that these programs are being managed by scientific research institutes and a scientific research base, which should tap complex reserves, that is, lower materials, energy, and labor intensity, without lowering the quality of products.

The race to exploit the mechanism of the economic reform in order to improve economic indicators and the lack of a clear system of motivation help lower quality. The enterprises that turn out finished products have to bear the brunt of the negative effect of such practices.

The economic reform initiated the liquidation of industrial associations [zjednoczenia], but these were immediately replaced by trusts [zrzeszenia], which has resulted in increased employment in the area outside production. Supervisory councils have also been set up, and these councils are mainly staffed by clerks.

Workers continue to stress the unfavorable manifestations of social injustice. The poles [bieguny] of riches and pauperization are being created in our country. I cannot ignore the people who reach out for riches along unlawful paths. Many new control institutions have been set up in Poland, but what they like to control most of all is the state enterprises because it is easy to get the necessary information there and to draw up a protocol with relatively little effort. But controlling trades, private outlets, and Polonia enterprises is a difficult task. It is also certain that controllers are unable to control everything there.

Much is being said about combating profiteering, but one cannot see any resolution in action. It is enough to take a look at private market places.

Comrade Gizela Pawlowska, Central Committee member and head of and assistant lecturer in the Surgical Department of the Health Institute in Raciborz, Katowice Voivodship:

I would like to make a few observations about the present discussion on price hikes. Most of our people know that is impossible to share what does not exist and that one has to go without many things for some time in order to achieve something.

But even those people have some doubts. For example, they keep asking whether the present price hikes will be able to freeze prices for at least 1 year -- at least prices for the basics. They also continue to wonder what will happen if the official price hikes are followed by price hikes effected by producers and service purveyors. Views are being heard that price hikes could be avoided by increasing labor productivity and resolutely combating waste. There is no doubt that the billions of zlotys we are looking for could be found in this way.

Comrade Jerzy Trzesniewski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Factory committee in the Warszawa foundry:

We have to ponder the fact that during the present crisis and when small-scale production has been neglected it is the small-capitalist private trade and other forms of private enterprise that are flourishing. This encourages highly qualified workers, technical intellectuals, and young people to adopt the philosophy that believes in "making a fortune."

That this is so is proved by the increasing tax crimes, by fortunes made, and by domestic millionaires, whose incomes do not diminish, despite the taxation progression, because the burden of this progression is as a rule shifted to consumers. Is it possible to find out who is able to buy villas and luxury cars and where the funds come from?

After all, we are able to control several million workers employed by the socialized economy, as attested to by the prompt execution of countervailing taxation. This gives rise to certain moods and views because most of the people who have to bear the burden of countervailing taxation are workers who do overlong hours in enterprises with reduced work forces only in order to keep up normal production regularity. We mobilize our workers to do extra work and at the same time we blunt their motivation by taxing them. This problem must be solved at once because its negative results are already beginning to show.

People are afraid that food price hikes may boost the prices of derivative products and many other products, including industrial ones. It is of importance, especially now, to be aware of the fact when making political and economic decisions that our social

organism is licking its serious injuries. Every decision is received in a very emotional way, as attested to by the reintroduction of butter rationing. People are much keener to see the irregularities of the functoning of the administrative and economic apparatus and the impudence of profiteering, parasitism, and other often peripheral matters such as the chaotic sales of gasoline, as already mentioned at this plenum, or the backlog in honoring advance zloty payments for cars because they can be sold at once for dollars.

What I have said about various problems is the end product of many meetings with party members and with other people. These problems are the problems of the working people.

Not so long ago at an accountability-election meeting in my primary party organization I heard the slogan: "It is the duty of the PZPR to listen to the voice of the workers class and to implement its postulates." I can add to and detract nothing from this slogan. This is how our comrades understand their active place in our party's policy.

Comrade Jozef Mitak, Central Committee secretary and fitter brigadier in the Adolf Warski Shipyards in Szczecin:

I represent the Warski Shipyards, which is the largest enterprise in Szczecin Voivodship and which has achieved good results for the second year in a row. In the first 10 months of this year our shipyards increased sales over 30 percent and labor productivity 36 percent. These results are incomparably better than in 1979.

Nevertheless, we regard our production results as unsatisfactory. Better results have been made impossible by the failure to decisively improve the puntuality and quality of the supplies of cooperative production elements. Another basic reason for the inability to increase our production is a shortage of production workers.

Every uncertainty of the market situation and every harbinger of changes also affect the atmosphere of our work. We have to reckon with the activities of our political adversaries, who continue to try to torpedo and discredit all the measures aimed at stabilizing our socioeconomic life and to exploit all the gaps in our propaganda as well the impatience and fatigue of our people through difficulties.

People in enterprises continue to wait for the necessary critical approach to the performance of the highest authorities and institutions. If our plenum fails to take a clear stand on the effectiveness of the measures to reduce materials intensiveness and to combat inflation and the slump in stockbreeding, then we will be unable to overcome people's doubts as to the feasibility of the 1984 plan.

We must pay more attention to the information on the actual progress of our economy. Information about improvements is given out and repeated all too often. This is why many people, who are not always on familiar terms with the complexities of economics, get the impression that good things are just around the corner. But our daily reality is far from such a reality. Hence the manifestations of nervousness and discontent.

It is out of the question that we should acquiesce in attempts to conceal responsibilities for the imperfect mechanisms of the economic reform. Nothing will regulate itself in the economy by itself. Before this takes place we need skillful and resolute measures to liquidate irregularities. All kinds of errors and irresponsible statements produce double damage -- they strike at the people and the party and provide political adversaries with weapons.

It has been said many times that the burden of the crisis must be shared equally by all of us. When everyone is short of something, those who have everything and the reasons why they have it become more visible. These people have what they have not because they work in state enterprises or because they are very thrifty.

The increase in incomes in the nonsocialized economy has been three or four times greater than in the socialized economy. I dare assert that this is a general trend and that the new taxation system is absolutely unable to counter it. I propose that in the same way as in the socialized economy, in which average wages are publicized everywhere, we should publicize average wages in the nonsocialized sector.

Let us compare official prices with social views and let greater openness of incomes help liquidate the present contradictions and disproportions. What is most racking is when good, expert workers and engineering cadres leave state enterprises to work in the nonsocialized sector.

In conclusion I would like to air my view, as a worker, on the programs that are binding in line with the plan. The consolidation of the practice of provisional government programs, reviews, and similar measures helps weaken the feeling that the enterprise is independent, favors the creation of the reserves in the plan that are meant for the so-called possible contingency, and is in conflict with the nature of the economic reform.

Comrade Stanislaw Lowicki, Central Committee member and driver in the Bytom branch of the Katowice Voivodship Transportation Enterprise:

We should be most ruthless in combating abuses and waste, unmasking and liquidating cliques, and countering manifestations of bossism. The managements of our enterprises must be more resolute vis-a-vis those who are offenders of discipline, and be more cordial to workers and show more solicitude for their existence in enterprises and outside them. They should take more interest in the workers' ordinary daily affairs.

I think that completely overcoming the residue of ideological confusion is the main condition for raising the militancy and activeness of party members. This calls, above all, for the party organizations' principled attitude toward erroneous or antiparty views. I think that those who believe that the political flirting with the present trends and moods helps overcome confusion and mobilize party members for militant activities are wrong.

One of the chief tasks of party organizations should be expanding and intensifying party propaganda, which must not only seek to explain the principles of our ideology and the political stand of our party, but also to vigorously combat the influence of alien ideology and the pressure from hostile forces.

Comrade Zbigniew Nowak, Central Committee candidate member, general of arms, deputy minister of national defense, and main technological inspector of the Polish Armed Forces:

The centers of political subversion in the West, as well as our opponents inside the country, are treacherously negating the results we have accomplished. They are promoting a libelous theses about the high level of military spending by giving tendentious comparisons and statistics. By using the conversion rate of Z13.9 to the dollar, they are falsely exaggerating our real defense expenditure. I should at this point stress that taking into account these purposefully distorted pointers, Switzerland spends twice as much per head of its population as Poland, and European NATO countries spend considerably more.

The United States and its allies are currently undertaking military activities on an exceptionally wide scale, are using concentrated political and ideological subversion, and are twisting the constructive disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union. By monopolizing the achievements of science and technology they are exploiting them to increase their military arsenals. They have geared their policies on raw materials, food, and fuel to arms production.

The extensive article by Marshal Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, which was published in today's press, shows the great threat that the Washington administration's current policy is posing for world peace, and warns against the consequences of this state of affairs. In such conditions, our rational activities aimed at consolidating our defense capabilities are of great importance.

Comrade Ryszard Brodowicz, Central Committee member and metal worker at the Polmatex-Wifama Textile Machine Combine in Lodz:

I will only submit one proposal on a matter which is, in my opinion, of great importance, and that is, the solution of difficulties in state control over the flow of funds.

We do not use methods just because they have been proven and tested in other countries. The principles of the reform put emphasis on the bank control system over the activities of state enterprises. If this is so, then why is there no control over the flow of funds between, for example, the state sector and trades and between the cooperative sector and Polonian firms.

The scale of this phenomenon is enormous. One could say that if there is an additional flow of billions of zlotys to the market, then part is surely from the turnover between these units of the economy.

I propose that the possibility of introducing a clearance turnover between all the sectors of our economy be examined. We have no knowledge of this matter and, therefore, have no power to do anything. One cannot govern without being in control. We are dealing with large amounts of money and we will not resolve this matter by only using control units like fiscal chambers or the Supreme Chamber of Control. The clearance system, which is based on check settlements, will enable complete control using a coherent bank system.

I think this solution should be the first stage in the introduction of clearance turnover in a wider field.

Comrade Mieczyslaw Bednarczyk, first secretary of the PZPR factory committee at the Stalowa Wola Steelworks in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship:

We have entered a serious political battle, namely the increase of food prices. We are doing this in order not to spend Z120 billion from the state budget on subsidies on foodstuffs, but at the same time we pay as much again toward unprofitable enterprises.

The only way out of this situation is to make enterprises that work poorly go bankrupt, so that their production potential is taken over by enterprises whose production the state has deemed important. The kind of production that is in the interests of those who take over these bankrupt enterprises will then commence. There will then be a transfer of workers to the sectors of the national economy in keeping with the government's plans without having to relocate people or deal with the additional problems that this would bring.

We must achieve the situation where the work force itself looks for those who are to blame for poor work within their enterprises, instead of within the government. The policy of money that is hard to come by [trudny pieniadz] must therefore become a fact of life. Difficult conditions will force us to improve the rhythm of our production.

The late issue that I want to raise is trade between CEMA member-states. Why is it easier for us to buy production parts from Western countries than it is from socialist countries? The balance of mutual deliveries in the yearly cycle is a curb on the extensive development of CEMA trade and its independence from capitalist countries.

Comrade Alexander Kaszowski, director of the railway rolling stock repair plants in Bydgoszcz:

I cannot shake off the impression that there is still a belief in Poland that the authors of the economic reform will decide on its success and that if the authors do not make any great errors then we will implement the reform and everything will be all right.

The other side -- here I mean the enterprises -- lose out on this, as this is where the reform will, in my opinion, take its final shape. It is as if the influence of these enterprises and the influence of their managements on the way that the reform is being implemented is not being appreciated. I believe that we can do a great deal in enterprises that have what is probably the most important trump card in their favor -- that is, ones that are independent -- in order to obtain better results with the help of relatively simple undertakings.

I believe, that we cannot implement the economic reform without all plant organizations really working together and without the whole work forces' realization of this. Otherwise these activities will be superficial or ineffective. Nor will we be able to implement the economic reform if we do not change the way of thinking of the economic and political managements themselves, as well as the way the work force thinks. And finally, like several of my colleagues, I also think that neither will we be able to implement the economic reform in 1984 if the changes to the system will deprive the work forces of the calculable benefit of implementing it.

Comrade Slawomir Krupa, Central Committee member, head of the electric plant at the Kedzierzyn Nitrogen Plants in Opole Voivodship:

We must carefully monitor the progress of the reform in its contact with the reality of the economy. How will enterprises tackle the issues of the 1984 plant? They have not been given access to the rules of the game. The plan that some of them received for consultation will not be able to help them much in this. In order to prove what I mean, let me point out that in one part of the consultation paper it is said that the production of fertilizers in 1984 will increase by over 5 percent, while right next to it they say that deliveries of such raw materials as coal and gas will be maintained at the 1983 level. This is information which is more like disinformation.

Another issue is the fact that in 1983 we were unable to reach the level we achieved during the fourth quarter of 1982 in any month of 1983. The reasons for this were the shortage of raw and other materials, including imported raw materials. The economic use of these materials therefore becomes an issue of the utmost importance. The plan for 1983 will only have been implemented in this field by 50 percent by the close of the year. In such a situation the tasks that have not been performed in certain parts of economic activity will be quite obvious. I am saying this in order for it to be taken into consideration during the preparation of the plan for 1984.

The problem of saving raw and other materials was extensively dealt with at this plenum. In the solutions that have so far been employed, enterprises have not been interested in saving. One hears that it is only by increasing prices that we can increase profits for ourselves. The situation cannot continue where the worker who saves at work does not feel the effects of his savings. Paying people to save should be worthwhile. The workforces should view the basic factor of the growth of their incomes as being savings and work productivity.

Comrade Wladyslaw Baka, minister and government plenipotentiary for the economic reform:

No one questioned the reform's policy line during the discussion, or the fact that the reform contributed to the progress that was achieved last and particularly this year.

This is satisfying. At the same time, however, very many critical remarks were made and many opinions and proposals that must be considered were expressed.

Attention was drawn in several speeches to the fact that we make amendments to excess and that we change and abandon fixed principles. We are all aware of how enormously priceless a virtue having stable principles is. However, this is not possible due to the variability of our conditions. Nor is every change a change that has been instigated by the reform, and not every change brings a significant transformation.

It is as if our reform were composed of three layers. These are the first principles that were adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress: the strategic role of the central plan; self-government, self-dependence and the self-financing of enterprises; and proper relations between economic organizations and the state's administrative bodies.

This is the party's leading role. These are the basic rigid principles on which our party structure is based. Everything that we do at present is done with the aim of consolidating these principles.

The second layer contains the systemic and organizatonal solutions of the reform: the fiscal system, the price system, and the organizational system. These principles should become permanent for several years. At the moment, the amendments that have been made are aimed at shaping these systems as permanent ones. They will not be changed in the future.

The third layer of the reform constitutes the economic mechanism: prices, liabilities, and taxes. These features are not fixed in any country.

What we are presently doing is establishing and consolidating our principles and our systemic solutions. Why have we come forward with these solutions so late?

Work on the amendments was begun as early as March. General decisions that the Council of Ministers adopted in September were subjected to wide discussion. However, in order to define the definite mechanism of the reform, as for example, depreciation, government orders, and taxes, it is necessary for the Central Annual Plan to be set. The work on this is being finalized at present. The completion of the work on the plan will mean that enterprises will finally receive all the parts they need for their activities to continue next year.

Several demands have been raised in this hall for the creation of separate programs for the following: metallurgy, shipbuilding industry, railroad car construction, food economy, dairy industry, etc. Each of these proposals is justified; it is only that their potential is limited and it is due to this that our economic policy becomes a problem of choice.

The belief has already become accepted that solutions must be found in our central programs. The reform gives enterprises from various fields the possibility of organizing themselves with the aim of solving various issues. There have been no known cases of this being exploited on a larger scale.

The reform assured us that the executor will have to ask the investor for work. However, in order for this to be implemented, two conditions must be fulfilled. The first is already being fulfilled: principles behind the fixing of prices must be mapped out on the basis of estimated costs. The second condition, on the other hand, means that the investment assets that belong to the state and enterprises cannot exceed their executive capabilities. If there is no equilibrium in the investment process then nothing will save us from being reduced to merely giving and following orders.

The next issue concerns the distribution of depreciation funds. Generally speaking, 50 percent will go to the state budget and 50 percent will remain in the enterprise. Areas will be defined as to which enterprises will be able to hold onto 100 percent of their depreciation costs for their own needs. This distribution is subject to the restructurization programs.

The consolidation of mechanisms to improve labor efficiency was proposed. I think this mechanism is simple and clear. If, for example, 100 people have been employed and the employment fund amounts to Z1,000, then they have Z10 each. However, if the number of employees is reduced to 50 then each person will receive Z20 from the employment fund. This mechanism has a strong influence on the structure of employment. The only thing is, the change in the structure of employment is rather awkward. This is why certain activists and directors have been proposing that we should indicate how many clerks, for example, should be employed at a plant. This would be convenient; but there will be no such decisions from the top, because this depends on the workers' self-management bodies and the management.

In connection with the opinion that associations employ more workers than the old federations did, I would like to explain that they employ not more than 40 percent of the federations.

In the light of our experiences, the system in which we paid separately for things like saving, quality, productivity, and exports did not meet the mark. Our system is a synthetic system, which means that we have to pay for its general effectiveness.

We should consistently strive toward curbing all possibilities of raising prices without justification. At the moment, the scale of these practices is not great. If, for example, prices in Poland rise by 25 or 26 percent compared to last year then not more than 5 percent of them would have been dictated by enterprises. And so, we should not condemn the way plants keep prices down.

Then the speaker proposed that the increase in prices and wages should not be calculated in comparison to last year, but should be calculated day by day, month by month. The point is that we should work out a proper information system that appeals to people's imagination, to the way they think, and one that they can believe in.

The Council of Ministers intends to apply to the Sejm for authorization to make very far-reaching wage experiments. We propose that this should be done extensively. However, this should not be an optional choice, but should go on the lines of definite principles. This would be a great step on the road to the reconstruction of the bonus systems in which the two following parts will be connected: centralized activities with greater freedom of the enterprises.

The reform has currently entered the sphere of direct practical implementation. It is said that it is influencing wage slips and is affecting the fate of people in individual enterprises. It has stopped being a slogan, a program, or a recorded fact, for it is becoming reality. It appears that it is a very bitter, difficult pill to swallow when it is put into practice. Its implementation has not taken place without a clash, because it is, in essence, a reconstruction of many of the structures which had existed until now. One can anticipate that a movement will emerge with the aim of obtaining subsidies, concessions, and priorities. If we give in to this then there will be no progress. However, when enterprises feel that they have come across an impervious obstacle, then a movement will emerge within enterprises to find better organizational structures, to change existing employment structures, and to find a more economical way of management. This is precisely the kind of stake that is worth playing. But in order to do this, it is not enough just to oblige the government to it. This must be accompanied by understanding and political support.

Implementing government orders will be a revolution on its own account. If we introduce the principle that he who succeeds in making the best job of a given product in the cheapest possible way before the fixed deadline expires will receive a government order, then it will mean that what 10 enterprises previously had produced will be produced by 5 or 6 enterprises while the rest will be left without any allocations of raw materials. How will the work forces, the workers' self-management bodies, party organizations, or plant managers who will not win a contract behave then? Will they summon enough strength in themselves in order to face this defeat and will we be strong enough not to concede to them?

The law on the improvement of the economy and the insolvency of enterprises has been in operation since 1 October. This has nothing in common with capitalist bankruptcy. There will be an official in every enterprise that is becoming insolvent who will propose several or more job vacancies to every one of its workers. The machines and equipment of these enterprises will be taken to other enterprises where they can be used better and their production halls will be earmarked for other purposes. We should have enough consistency to implement these principles.

Jaruzelski Speech

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["Extensive excerpts" of speech by General Wojciech Jaruzelski during the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 19 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: This has been a business-like plenum. Therefore we are not laying down great new programs in it. There is no such need. The assumptions of the socioeconomic policy of the party were laid down by the ninth congress. The policy was concretized at the eleventh plenum of the Central Committee. It was confirmed during the March conference of the workers' aktiv and during the September meeting with trade unionists.

All of us, however, are watching with great attention the course of socioeconomic processes. We are constantly ready to make corrections which are being implemented while marching on. Today's plenum has confirmed that we are both critical and self-critical. The plenum was precisely a kind of inspection, an inspection of problems, strengths, and opportunities on the threshold of 1984. At the same time, it has not been simply an economic plenum either. It has had ideological and political significance and has provided an opportunity to assess the economy from the point of view of the main assumptions of the 13th plenum. Ideology, politics, and economics are closely linked. They influence each other. Answering the question on how the tasks for overcoming the economic crisis should be distributed, the ninth congress adopted a workers' stance, a class-stance. Today's plenum reminded us and stressed that this stance is still in force.

Many valuable voices have been heard. It is not my intention to take a position on all the issues touched upon today. I would only like to take up the main themes of the discussion; and not only the one taking place at the plenum, but also the themes of the discussion going on among the whole public.

Today's discussion referred directly to the feelings of the working people, to opinions and assessments that are today formulated in production enterprises, in the countryside, and in institutions.

And although it is not easy to listen to criticism, sometimes even accusations, the fact that in the present situation we are speaking frankly and openly is a result of the bond between the party, its leading echelons and the working class, and the whole of society.

It is also a guarantee that the party's policy will not go against the justified social efforts.

The main topics of the discussion can be centered on four basic questions:

First: What have we succeeded in doing to date and which of the assumed goals have already been implemented?

Second: What have we not succeeded in doing so far and why?

Third: What dangers are we facing and where are the main dangers to Poland's present and future and for our nation's material existence coming from?

Fourth: What should we do, how should we do it, and which way should we go in order to achieve a clear, generally tangible improvement in the economic situation more quickly?

I would like to answer the first question briefly: Which of the assumed goals have been implemented? When it is hard, when everyday difficulties weigh heavily, when uncertainty is born and fears multiply, and especially when some misfortunes occur, a person bends under his burden and ceases to appreciate the progress achieved. Our society and all of us are prone to such moods, and yet in this short, not quite 2-year period, how much we have done! The country has been rescued from economic ruin; we have stopped the regression. The process of bringing equilibrium to the economy has begun. Despite the accumulated difficulties, basic conditions have arisen for us to advance, although with small steps and at an unsteady pace.

The Politburo report has listed the progress of recent years. The economic reform deserves to be stressed.

There were many arguments that it should not be started under the conditions of the economic crisis. However, in accordance with the resolution of the ninth congress, we did not hesitate to begin implementing it. The decisive and irreversible step has been taken. Despite all difficulties, weaknesses, inconsistencies, the influence of the new mechanisms is [illegible] more noticeable. But the most important thing is that we have not wasted any time. An increasing number of the managerial cadres -- working people -- is gaining experience working under the new conditions. This is capital which is as precious as the material results. It will bring about increasingly positive results as the years pass. A broad and competent discussion of this subject best confirms these words. This does not mean that we overestimate the achievements realized up to now. Not everything is going smoothly; there are pitfalls. However, the direction of the changes is most important. We are the first ones to attempt the reform. We have the courage and the persistency to change intentions to realities. We shall not deviate from this path.

Also a sense of security can be considered a matter particularly important to the public; that is, eliminating the threat of failing to meet the most fundamental needs, especially the threat of hunger and cold. And, after all, at the end of 1981 this was a real threat, a dramatic threat.

Similarly, for example, the immediate health of the public was also threatened. We remember the alarming -- tragic even -- situation of the period in question. Today, one can still detect anxiety among doctors but there is no comparison with the trends of rapid deterioration of a couple of years ago. Positive examples could be adopted. These are only a few problems which the party considered particularly important, problems of particular social significance. The party paid particular attention to these problems.

Not one investment project has been halted in the health service. The number of beds made available has risen from 2,000 in 1980 to 5,400 in 1983. The shortage of drugs has been alleviated. The percentage of funds spent on the health service out of the national income has risen from 4.7 percent in 1980 to 5.6 percent in 1983, and this percentage out of the state budget has risen from 8.4 percent in 1980 to 10.8 percent in 1983. Infant mortality has dropped during the last 3 years.

One could give more positive examples. I have only mentioned those that possess keen social significance and to which the party and government have paid special attention. The period 1982-83 has been a difficult period of convalescence. I don't want to say that everything is fine now, but a gradual improvement is a fact. We all admit this. However, above all, it is and will be a positive process.

We are not and will not be a nation of so-called failures, a country that succeeds at nothing, because in hard times Poles exhibit countless signs of courage, self-denial, and patriotism. This deserves recognition and respect.

The answer to the second question: What have we failed to achieve to date and why? Unfortunately, the number of negative things is not small. There are objective and subjective reasons for this. The Politburo report speaks about them. I will return to many of them further on in my speech. Here I would like to stress, above all, that the reasons are subjective and objective.

Against this backdrop, it is worth recalling what the decisions and economic steps undertaken immediately after stormy situations in the past have been like. These steps were aimed at quickly improving market supplies, and increasing wages and social benefits through a liberal use of foreign credits. At that time we did not have the heavy burden of debts which rests on our shoulders today. Therefore, the range of possibilities was also incomparably wider. There was a considerably greater chance of quickly overcoming the crisis. We do not have these possibilities today: The Central Committee elected during the ninth congress does not have them. We are condemned to making many difficult and unpopular decisions, and it will take time to achieve the lost equilibrium.

So no one has promised any miracles, no one of us at least. We have been fully aware of the restricted possibilities. But even so the situation today could be better than it is.

Why is it not better? Opinions on this subject are extremely varied.

We understand the impatience and doubts of those people for whom conditions are very difficult. Many letters from citizens are coming in -- they frequently show irritation and are full of criticism. Even so we read them and not reluctantly. Regardless of the often simplified assessments in them, they sometimes confirm the fact -- sometimes unintentionally -- that in the minds of society the party is the only force able to lead Poland out of its current difficulties.

But let us return to the letters and to the results of public opinion polls. They often contain fear for one's material situation, helplessness, even hopelessness. This applies to pensioners, large families, and solitary mothers in particular. The Central Committee and the party which also shares in this life know about all this.

We are not acting in a world of good wishes and official optimism, but in a time of harsh reality. We do not intend to beautify matters. The truth is a hundred times better than illusions, even if it is harsh and bitter.

Against the backdrop of this difficult situation, we fully understand people's doubts. However, one cannot speak without indignation, or even contempt, about the various antisocialist reviewers of our economic situation. They all stand out with a particular sort of confusion, ignorance, falseness, ill-will, and ordinary posturing. Their ignorance, or rather avoidance, of the fundamental statistics, their economic illiteracy, parochialism, and insistence on treating Polish affairs as separate from the broad international context, all this is striking indeed. In addition to this, their hypocrisy is also striking.

Let us recall the year 1981. Let us search for the source of this so-called Solidarity network and of the economic demands put forward by the extreme wing of Solidarity. Well, what indeed did this boil down to? It boiled down to a few little crypto-capitalist slogans of extreme demagogy, banking on people's lack of knowledge and gullibility. What was demanded? A free market chaos, an uncontrolled operation of private enterpreneurs, caricature-like forms of what was alleged to be self-management, which in practice would have been tantamount to wholesale destruction of the property of the entire people. Not infrequently these demands were put forward by the very same people who today criticize the authorities regarding negotiated prices, who, in effect, demand interventionism by the state and increased state social subsidies. You really have to be brazen to be able to go with the flow, whatever its direction. Where would Poland be today if we had allowed ourselves to be conned by their little theories and if these theories had prevailed?

But we have other reviewers, too, from the other side. They ascribe various evils to the reform, they long for the good old days, for the period of simplified solutions and detailed instructions that have never proved to be effective. As a matter of fact, they are afraid of independence. They can, unfortunately, be found within our own ranks and within the economic administration cadre at various levels. It would, however, be erroneous and harmful to regard attitudes of this kind as applicable to the majority.

On the contrary, very many party, state, and economic aktivists should be highly praised for their steadfastness and resilience, for their ability to lead and to manage in extraordinarily difficult and novel conditions, when assessment criteria were changing.

The past few years have many heroes. For the main part, they will remain nameless. The economic reform has such heroes, too, people who have a profound understanding of the nature of this reform, people who strive to make use of the new economic mechanisms in accordance with their social and socialist goals. The socialist economy and socialist economic consciousness are built not in an ideal social system, but in a concrete historical situation when our economy is becoming, to an ever greater extent, an arena of political struggle.

The enemy at home and abroad wishes to recover on the economic front what he has lost on the political front. He is employing various forms of pressure in order to deepen our problems. An extreme example: On one hand, the tortoise philosophy calls for the torpedoing of government orders; on the other, the system of anti-Polish sanctions directed by the American Administration. The former is suicidal stupidity, the latter, an exceptional baseness, a cynical form of struggle against the Polish economy as a whole, or against the Polish people, for whom that economy was, is, and will be the sole provider.

For the fourth year running, a stream of gifts and parcels from the West is flowing into Poland. Right now this is really a small stream. Of course we are grateful for people's offer of aid and for the charitable gesture. However, we would be back on our feet far more quickly under conditions of normal international trade. Attempts are made to sweeten the sanctions with humiliating alms, with a few wagons of parcels to go under the Christmas trees. Billions are taken from us and a few cents are given us. Let us return, however, to the question of what we have failed in and why.

We have never promised things that are pleasant and easy but cannot be achieved. We are striving, however, to do the maximum possible. At this point it is worth recalling that in the capitalist countries the overcoming of a crisis begins with drastic budget cuts on social expenditures, education, culture, and health protection.

Anyone, including the subversive Polish-language radio stations, can easily check this in the budgets of those countries. Every day, economically weaker enterprises are closing down and unemployment is increasing. An uncertainty about tomorrow and a fear for one's standard of living and social status are an economic whip to force efficiency and discipline on workers.

We in Poland do not wish to follow this road, we cannot. The very idea of socialism forbids such brutal methods. That does not mean, however, that we can avoid the effects of economic laws, that we can abandon the methods that stimulate higher social work productivity. The difference -- often slurred over -- between the sense of social security the socialist state must provide for its citizens -- which in fact distinguishes it from the capitalist state -- and the satisfaction of ambitions, desires, demands, which can be realized to a greater or lesser degree depending on the amount of work put in, on the exploitation of the existing conditions and possibilities, deserves to be explained once again. Every working man can, in our present circumstances, choose one of only two ways out.

Either he resigns himself to the fact that the crisis is lowering his standard of living, or defends this standard with redoubled effort, laboriousness, and resourcefulness. No protective measures on the part of the state will save anyone from this choice. No state can guarantee everyone a continuation of his standard of living without his contribution to the social division of labor.

Our duty is to create conditions under which the consequences of price increases or other economically justified actions could be compensated for by stepped up productivity, additional work, and the creation of conditions under which one could earn more in an equitable and economically sound manner.

It is understandable that under socialism every person strives for maximum social security for onself, for one's family. There is nothing wrong with this as long as the individual, group, or branch interest does not enter into a collision course with the overall social interest. In Poland this collision is becoming ever more flagrant. In the discussion in progress throughout the country, even extreme, controversial voices can be heard concerning the excessive growth of the protective, social function of the state. For instance, many workers ask: I have two children, why do I have to work for the benefit of someone who has decided to have four?

Somebody always pays for something. There are also voices heard that question altogether the purpose of compensation for persons who could take up certain work and earn good money. This shows that this problem is disturbing social awareness more and more. The debate on these themes must be continued, taking as a given fact that the fundamental obligations of the socialist state as regards the social domain are not transferable.

We must exploit to the maximum the opportunities for socially indispensible, effective protection in regard to people, families, and groups which through no fault of their own are in the lowest income bracket and who need assistance. The means earmarked for this purpose are substantial. In all, next year they will amount to some Z15 billion from various sources. It is necessary to distribute them in a most equitable way. In this, an important role should be played by full-time employees in the health and social services, whose numbers have grown from 3,400 to 11,000 during the past 3 years. In addition, there is a considerable number of social workers. Young people and people of goodwill should be encouraged to do this work more and more.

The class nature of the socialist state demands that the numerous benefits, compensations, supplements, scholarships concern, above all, those individuals, families, and groups which genuinely need assistance from the entire working community. At this juncture it comes to mind that, at the present time, these benefits are very broad in scope, but at the same time some of the forms of aid are shallow, and thus not very tangible. We should examine the possibility of a kind of concentration of benefits, so that, by narrowing their numerical range, by restricting them to the disadvantage of better-off groups, resources might be saved, permitting increased benefits where the need for them is most vital.

And that is how I understand the motion of Comrade Gdula which stressed the need for the setting-up of a party-official-trade union commission to make a thorough assessment of the present system of social benefits. A large part of everyday worries is connected with the poor quality of services. It is universally known, and, above all, acutely felt, that a large part of the service industry complex, designed to help the citizens, functions poorly. This applies to most outlets of commerce, housing -- including repairs -- repairs of household utensils, mail, transport, and it affects work in offices, institutions, and so on.

Culture, honesty, punctuality, and, above all, accessiblity and a satisfactory standard of services constitute the main conditions for improving livingconditions -- in most instances without need for investment. Systematic research is in progress. We know that for a considerable part of the working people conditions today are difficult and for many very difficult.

Such is the background for the social reactions to the proposal for yet another price increase.

In the Central Committee, in the government, we acquaint ourselves thoroughly with the signals and assessments expressed in the price consultations. We are studying the materials from the Public Opinion Research Center. We are taking a stance on those assessments with the greatest gravity. We will not take the decisions hastily. We will scrupulously weigh all possibilities of alleviating the effects of this painful operation.

Regardless of the planned wages, we should also see to it that the food price rises affect the prices of means in workers cafeterias, school meals, meals in milk bars, and other forms of mass catering as little as possible.

The food price rises please no one, and yet they are essential -- there is no other way out. Let us ask society: What would shop shelves look like; by how much would the lines lengthen; how much, in connection with this, would speculation grow in 3 months, in half a year, in a year, if prices were to remain unchanged? We have learned that lesson several times already.

But from that same lesson comes the answer to the question of whether the intended price increases could be lower. Yes, of course they could have been lower, if we had been further along in realizing the anti-inflation and economy program; with effective utilization of the mechanisms of the reform; with labor discipline from top to bottom; with organizational and technical progress; simply, with higher quality of work and management; and if the potential that already exists today had been used everywhere as in the best industrial plants and farms.

After all, there is no shortage of these.

This is the best answer to the question: What have we not fully succeeded in doing and why?

In this context I would like to recall the circumstances under which the rationing of fats was reinstituted, the surprise of the party and public opinion at this decision, the accumulation of misleading and muddled information; all this must not be repeated. It is a difficult and painful lesson. The more difficult the decison -- and there is no avoiding such decisions -- the more important it is that an insightful and class account be made of its social effects; the more important it is that there be even greater possibilities for imagination, even more honest information, even more responsibility for every deed and every word.

At this point permit me a joking reply to the joking question posed by Comrade Smolarz. Combining two difficult functions, I probably feel like a private farmer who is, at the same time, a member of the highest echelon of the party, whose historical goal is to abolish private ownership of the means of production. It is with such a double burden, dear Comrade Smolarz, that we have to live, except that I will doubtless be freeing myself of one a lot earlier. But, comrades, I do not wish to get out of this difficult matter so cheaply. As you know, there has been a session of the Council of Ministers. Appropriate conclusions have been drawn which, after all, were not just personnel ones, but went deeper. Next, the Politburo adopted a stance which was reflected in the communique from the session. After all, we will return to this matter again.

But I wish to stress once again that we can neither circumvent the difficulties nor wait until they pass by. Postponing decisions only increases the burden of the difficulties. No clairvoyancy, panic, "witch hunts," or demagogy will change this relentless truth. The party cannot only settle popular matters. It must settle all necessary affairs, even if society does not react to these affairs favorably.

With a feeling of justified satisfaction for the aktivs, party cells, and our comrades all over the country, we can say that despite the announced price rises and the unease caused by this, the accountability and electoral campaign is proceeding even better than we expected. Attendance is good on the whole, the climate is mainly serious and business-like, and the resolutions are premediated. There is a clear aim to increase the party's activity and cohesiveness. Despite the various shortcomings that still exist, this sheds good light on our party.

A few words about the administrative cadres. We are promising ourselves a lot since the introduction of the new cadre policy, a whole new system. The new system is already becoming alive, but its fruits will be increasingly more evident as the whole process of selecting, assessing, training, and promoting cadres reaches an appropriately wide scale.

Very considerable changes have taken place in the state administrative apparatus, including the fact that it is much smaller. The composition of the government has completely changed since 1980. Most of the ministerial posts have even changed hands several times. It is the same with the regional administration. These changes are no coincidence. They are because of the burden of responsibility, on the one hand, and the high requirements we are setting, on the other.

We will continue to set these requirements and even raise them, and the resulting cadre flow will also continue. Today, however, a more important matter is to toughen this apparatus, stabilize it, and make use of the best experiences.

Now I want to dwell on an answer to the third question: What dangers threaten us? The current problems weigh excessively on us; they absorb the aktiv, the leading cadres, comrades in echelons and basic party organizations, often to the limits of psychological and physical possibilities. These problems catch the interest of the working class and the working people. However, the immediate dangers and difficulties pass, but the permanent factors remain and can even accumulate. Poland today faces, above all, acute contradictions between the immediate problems, spanning the next few

years, and problems spanning entire decades. Once before, in the second half of the forties, we faced a similar conflict of goals. It was solved on a historical scale. Poland achieved accelerated progress in industry and civilization, and it strengthened its international position and culture. One can call this a historic success. It was brought about by the far-reaching thinking and the leading activity of our party, the activeness of its members in all sectors of sociopolitical and economic life. Today, too, problems of a strategic, long-term nature exist for Poland. They can weigh on the fate of our homeland for the whole decade. I took up some of them at the all-Poland conference of the worker aktiv, at the first Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], and I considered them on other occasions. Why, comrades, is the significance of these absolutely basic matters so rarely the subject of social discussion? Why do we so rarely hear the voice of our intellectuals on matters that have a truly decisive importance for Poland: When we think of the Poland of the future, we must, above all, take into consideration the basic facts, which are verifiable statistics.

No one can cover up, deny, or nullify these facts. Let us take a look at them.

Since 1946, when our country was backward and terribly ruined, our population has grown by almost 14 million, in other words, by 54 percent. During this same period Italy and Sweden have increased their populations by 25 percent and Great Britain by only 13 percent. The total population growth in the remaining socialist countries has only been one half of the Polish population growth. In Hungary the population growth has been 18 percent, in the CSSR it has been 19 percent, and in the GDR the population has even fallen.

So we are all satisfied with our nation's buoyancy and biological strength. However, joy is not an economic factor. For example, by 1990, the number of schoolchildren will increase by more than 1 million. We presently have a record birthrate. Even now, one in three inhabitants of Poland is younger than 18. Is joy alone going to be enough to build the nurseries, kindergartens, and schools? Proportions will become increasingly acute. By 1990, there will be almost 2.3 million more of us. On the other hand, there will be only 700,000 more people of production age. This is the dimension of the problem. There will have to be more places of work, more buses, apartments, service centers. On the other hand, there will be relatively fewer of those who are supposed to produce all this.

Unfortunately, there are many professional malcontents who do not provide any sensible comment or constructive proposal on the subject.

Another great problem is saving the priceless production property from premature decapitalization. It is not important who, when, and with what this or that machine was bought. The nation as a whole has worked for it. It is necessary to keep it going today. It is necessary to develop the science of exploitation, which has been neglected in our country. Above all, it is necesary to make sure that the machines are used appropriately. Even countries richer than we cannot afford to waste equipment the way we are doing so.

Even more important, the technological gap is also growing. We are at present seriously below the schedule in many spheres compared to the average world level in technology, especially concerning advanced technology. This means, among other things, that the competitiveness of our products is deteriorating; Poland's position in the international division of labor has been weakened, including the CEMA markets. The position we have attained in Europe as a result of the revolution, the achievements of the postwar generation, can become doubtful in a few years' time. Reducing the technological gap and occupying significant positions, in certain spheres at least, will not take place without investment outlays that have been well-planned and effective. We know and remember the distortions of the previous decade's investment policy, the effects of the euphoria, and the lack of care for a suitable structure of change and for

creating Polish national specializations. There can be no return to these mistakes. On the other hand, however, we have to understand that anemic and obviously ineffective investments are not a smaller weakness. We are spending 20 percent of our national income on investments; Czechoslovakia is spending 31 percent, Bulgaria 28 percent, and Hungary 25 percent. For every Pole we are presently investing half as much as the Bulgarians or Romanians, and even less than Czechoslovakia and the GDR. We are allocating 60 percent of our outlay on production investments. Other socialist countries are allocating 70-80 percent. Concerning non-production investments, in other words, housing construction, hospitals, clinics, and schools, we are allocating 40 percent of the investment outlay, whereas other countries are allocating 20-25 percent. As one can see from the above, we are allocating too little funds for solving future problems both in terms of the level of investments compared to the national income and in terms of the scale of the investments themselves.

Even though we are allocating a proportionately large part of our total investment outlay on non-productive investments in order to meet basic social needs, we are still building too little according to citizens. This feeling results from the unsatisfactory level of housing, communal, and social construction, and from the low level of construction of health, educational, and cultural facilities.

This year we are going to build about 170,000 apartments. This is a lot, but very little compared to people's needs. Right now we are building 5.1 apartments for every 1,000 people, whereas in Bulgaria this figure is 7.7, in Czechoslovakia it is 7.2, and in Hungary it is 7.1 for every 1,000 people.

Some 2.7 million people are waiting for apartments. Of these, 91,000 are residing in places destined for demolition. Some 119,000 places of residence are occupied to the point where there is less than 5 square meters per person. We must find a way of giving these people speedier and more effective help. Local authorities and housing cooperatives should display greater initiative here.

Our number is growing but we live in biological conditions that are getting worse. Only one in four Poles lives in an area that is not threatened ecologically. The three remaining Poles feel the destruction of the natural environment to a greater or lesser degree. Only 65 percent of our rivers have usable waters. The forests are changing for the worse. Natural beaches, lakes, and resorts are withering away. We all want to breathe fresh air. However, many of us need rubber boots, and rubber boots mean sulfur oxide in the atmosphere. Everyone wants to live better, but cement means dust in the air.

The economy has no conscience. The laws of physics and economy cannot be deceived. When we were actively developing industry, when towns were developed, we became greatly indebted to nature. We made mistakes that could have been avoided. There have been voices of ridiculous pride because of overcoming nature. However, after all, activities aimed at developing the economy have not been dictated by mere shortsightedness or stupidity alone. Environmental protection is expensive. It costs a lot. Sometimes it costs as much as developing industry and supportive structures. We have no means for it today. However, it is possible and necessary to avoid certain damage right now. A new way of thinking, ceaseless human concern, and opposition to carelessness and vandalism are necessary. The battle to save the environment begins in the factory, in the rural council, in the dairy, in the work cooperative, on every tourist trail, in the home, and in school.

It is a bitter truth that in various "Polish catechisms," much space is occupied by beautiful generalizations, but so little is said about concrete examples of concern, love, and respect for nature and for our soil -- the only one we have.

Of great importance for Poland's future are the natural and physical conditions for our agriculture. The area of arable land, which in 1946 was 0.8 hectares for every Pole, is decreasing. Today it is only half a hectare. The population is rising fast. At the same time, industry, housing, and highways are using up 20,000 to 30,000 hectares per year. We have to feed ourselves from an inevitably decreasing area of arable land.

Seventeen years ago, when Poland's population was not quite 32 million, Wladyslaw Gomulka said that in order to attain self-sufficiency in agriculture and maintain the level of animal breeding that was planned at that time, it would be necessary to increase harvests of the four basic cereals to 21 quintals per hectare. With today's population and per capita meat consumption, which is 56 kg per inhabitant and is not considered high, self-sufficiency would only be guaranteed by a harvest amounting to 31 quintals per hectare. At that time, this meant the need to raise harvests by about 2 quintals per hectare, but today the necessary extra amount is 4 quintals per hectare.

I will not deal in depth with all the issues that have been raised here in order to sow defeatism and paint catastrophic visions. However, society, and young people in particular, should know what problems they have to solve andwhat danger they have to overcome. For these are not dangers caused by socialism, but by life, development, and civilization. We must not count on miracles. Despite our nation's high level of godliness -- as people are wont to stress -- prosperity will not come upon us like manna from Heaven.

Here on earth, problems can only be solved by human strength. Mobilizing and consolidating this strength and imparting to this strength a future goal are the basic duty. They are also the great and unalienable task of the party. Its leadership role also depends on the fact that in his thoughts a communist must go beyond the horizon encompassing his immediate surroundings. He must even go beyond his own sphere of life.

Now it is time to answer the fourth question that we ask ourselves: How do we overcome the difficulties and dangers, and which way do we go?

What I am about to say may appear paradoxical at first sight, but our weaknesses and shortcomings are at the same time our reserve. Our chance is to overcome and eliminate these weaknesses. This is the truth.

The fact that the situation today is forcing us to be especially thrifty and count every penny may and ought to be a factor which will cause a breakthrough in intensive and truly modern management.

The Politburo report contains a lengthy description of the objective difficulties over which we have no control and which, like the proverbial ball and chain, hamper our movements and prevent a swifter pace of production even where this is possible.

However, I do not wish to digress at length on the objective difficulties. They have often been a convenient pretext to drop one's arms in helplessness. It is easy to complain of a hostile history. It is harder to draw rational lessons from it. The most difficult thing, however, is to perceive in the current difficulties the subjective factor, the one that exists here and now on the Odra and the Nysa at the beginning of the 9th decade of the 20th century. The party considers as its fundamental moral and political duty to speak first and foremost of the things that depend on us ourselves, on the Polish managerial cadres, on worker and engineer, and on every thinking citizen. These subjective causes include inconsistency and even deformations in the application of the mechanisms of the reform. After all, they often do not function as they should. A great deal does indeed require modification -- as is known, the amendments will come into force at the beginning of the new year. After all, every mechanism is created by a man; men can repair them and men can ruin them.

Well, all too often we do encounter the latter case. The reform was hardly born when many managements and self-managements instilled a tendency for selectively approaching the refrain -- as they saw fit -- taking from the reform what was convenient and ignoring those aspects that give them certain duties, tightened up the rules, and at times required one to go against the flow. Just think, man's goodwill is being subjected to calculation. Hence, a great task arises for the party. The constant expectation that the state, this good and benevolent uncle, will help out with one's troubles, that it will provide the additional finance -- calculations of this kind are mistaken calculations.

Not infrequently it is necessary to meet them halfway, to help those who found themselves in trouble through no fault of their own. However, as for those who manage badly and those who are lazy -- let the specter of bankruptcy stare them in the face! Today, no one should work for the sake of those whose only concern is to receive money without getting their hands dirty, and those who pay attention only to wages. Here are a few examples: In the cast-iron foundry in Koluszki, costs are a third higher than the value of output but, at the same time, wages have increased 50 percent. In the Czechowice construction enterprise, despite the benefits that have been provided, the losses amount to Z12.5 million! Labor productivity is 25 percent lower and wages 10 percent higher relative to other enterprises of this type.

There, too, party members are to be found. You can say that one Pole is equal to the task, but another Pole could not be bothered. However, both expect speedy aid in equal measure.

There are very many enterprises that deserve praise and recognition. I will at least mention the Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrawa Swietokrzyska; the Silesian Uprising, Jankowice, and Lenin coalmines; the ceramic works in Opoczno; and the chemical plant in Sarzyna. The practice and experience of these enterprises and of many others that I have not mentioned but which are also functioning well show that it is possible to do more, much more under the existing conditions. This, too, is a great reserve of ours. We must try to like those among us who are the best. We must demand that such attempts be made.

Now let us take a look at labor resources management. The Politburo report dealt with this very exhaustively, so I will only add a few words. We have abundant proof of the carefree attitude toward manpower resources management. If people are laid off why are they taken on again? For instance, in the Bydgoszcz tool plant during 1980-83, the number of those employed directly in the production processes went down 24 percent, yet the number of white-collar workers went up by over 2 percent. You can see a similar situation in the Wroclaw Elwro plant and in numerous other enterprises.

Are the Politburo, the government, and the Central Committee meant to deal with this especially? No one will alleviate these managements, self-management bodies, and workforces from the chore of tidying up their own yards.

The right people exist in many cases, but they are not always in the right place. These people also form a basic reserve. We only need more effort and commonsense to lessen the shortage of manpower, if not eliminate this shortage completely, for completely eliminating it is often impossible. Of course, nothing will replace radical organizational and technological changes in the long run, but we cannot wait until these changes are upon us.

Everyone knows how the working day shapes up in some enterprises or institutions. You wait half an hour for your tools, an hour for your materials, you spend an odd 15 minutes or so in the canteen, you go to conferences and meetings held during the working hours, you also get an occasional break so that you can celebrate someone's birthday -- not infrequently with alcohol -- you comment on football matches and so forth. Thus, time is lost: It is not just the millions of working hours that are lost, but billions

of zlotys as well. Our actual working week is, as is known, exceptionally short, less than 34 hours.

Full utilization of the legal 42-hour work week is for the time being a distant target. If, however, every person employed in industry were to extend his effective working time by only 1 hour -- I stress here that it is not a question of presence in the factory, but of actual work -- the value of production manufactured during that hour would immediately increase on a national scale by Z4 billion.

In no way do I want to overestimate the progress made in combating bureaucracy. There is still a tremendous amount to be done. But actually in this domain the government has started with themselves. And here, answering among others Comrade Nowakowska, I should like to let you know that in the 1980 to 1983 period a considerable reduction of state administration has taken place. From 171,000 in 1980 it has been cut to some 149,000 -- a reduction of 22,000 people -- mainly due to the reform of the system of managing the economy. The reorganization, including the liquidation of five ministries, yielded an establishment reduction amounting to some 1,500. This is more than 30 percent of the previous figure in these ministries.

There has also been a reduction of the number of employees in foreign missions. Government activities designed to curtail state administration have thus yielded genuine results. We will continue along this path. Relevant decisions have been adopted within the framework of the savings program. The Central Committee reports that the same is going on inside the party. By a Politburo decision, further steps will be taken to economize more on the party budget and find various kinds of reserves and savings measures. We must set an example here.

Poland has a great fund of talent. That is our next reserve. Over a 40-year period, the Polish intelligentsia have contributed significantly to creating the nation's progress and achievement. We have valuable examples for the country of the inventiveness and resourcefulness of the Polish scientist, engineer, and technician: for example, in the precision mechanics institute a technology for direct cleansing of waste with the simultaneous recycling of such precious metals as silver, copper, and platinum. Licenses have been sold to the second payments area. This method is being introduced in Poland in more than 40 industrial plants. In 1982-1983, in the Lenin Metallurgical Combine a technology was worked out and production started on more than 15 assortments of metal plate and generator belts for the electrical engineering industry, which eliminate imports and enable continuity of production to be maintained in a number of industrial coproducing enterprises. In the Cemi Institute of Electronics Technology, a microprocessor system has been worked out worth about Z1,000. This matches the digital equipment constructed with conventional printed circuits and worth about Z300,000. In the Polfa Pharmaceutical Plant in Jelenia Gora, a new drug has been discovered which does not affect the human body's defense system. A particularly valuable example of initiative in the present situation, which will help overcome the effects of the economic sanctions, is the recipe for poultry feed worked out by the Polish Academy of Science Institute of Physiology and Animal Feeding. There are many more of such examples.

We have almost a million people with higher education. We have more engineers than many much more developed countries in the world. We must show concern for the standing of the technical cadre, arouse its activeness, encourage innovative rationalizing ideas and activities.

It is thus necessary to modify the system of directing education and scientific progress. This will take place soon. There will be an increase in contacts between science and industry. We shall try to equip scientific and research institutions with better machinery, periodicals, and technology, all of which are necessary for research. This will take place according to our means and to the greatest possible extent from an economic standpoint.

We shall cooperate in this sphere with the supreme technical organization. People say that People's Poland cannot afford another Copernicus. Before they say such things, they should consider that these alleged Copernicuses, staring towards the West, usually have rather modest scientific achievements. We have many outstanding scientists in Poland. They devote their work and talent without hesitation to the nation of their birth which has paid for their education and thus counted on the debts being repaid.

The quantity of products marked with "Q" or "1" has fallen by about 25 percent in the first half of this year. In most cases this is not the result of the objective difficulties caused by the restricted imports of components and materials, although these difficulties do exist, but, above all, the result of scandalous irresponsibility, unconscientious control, and often quite simply of corruption. Often those same people, who as consumers criticize the quality of products the most vehemently, as producers manufacture bad goods without any scruples, after which they generally sell these products at a "good" price.

Here are some recent examples:

During the first quarter of the current year more than 5,000 cars -- Fiat 126's -- were delivered to Polmozbyt in Warsaw. Not one of these, comrades -- I repeat, not a single car -- was suitable for retail. Every single one needed some work on it. The cost of repairs under guarantees on automatic washing machines and freezers made by Predom-Polar amounted to Z400 million during the first 6 months of the current year. This is equivalent to 10,000 freezers and 10,000 automatic washing machines.

Let us take footwear. The organizational and financial effort was the maximum we could afford. Enough raw materials were found. But in some of the factories the squandering of leather was truly outrageous. We have many reports that there is still a shortage of ordinary standard shoes, with correct sizes and appearance, adapted to the climate. By making sandals or high heels it is possible to meet statistical requirements but not other requirements.

Inferior quality not only causes vast material losses, it also perpetuates a decline in life and production. It drives us backward. Our people begin to get accustomed to any old quality, to various substitute wrappings.

Our next reserve and opportunity lies in vast raw material resources. In Europe we are one of the countries best endowed by nature and our imports of raw materials are larger than exports. But the extraction of raw materials costs more and more. And what is even more costly is wastefulness in the management of rawmaterials, squandering and exploitation. In many countries the consumption of fuel, energy, and raw materials per produced unit of national revenue is twice and even three times lower. This applies, for instance, to the GDR, where for some time the entire production growth has been achieved without an increase in the supply of raw and other materials. Therefore, it is imperative to concentrate determined efforts of science and practice on the search for perfected technologies for the extraction and processing of the minerals mined in our country.

And yet another theme, maybe the most painful one: the weakness of workers' discipline, of civic and social discipline. If we look for reserves we must also reach out there, and perhaps we should do that first, for it costs nothing. I have in mind in particular the plague of the theft of public property. During meetings with workforces, during party accountability and election meetings, the need to step up the struggle against crime is being strongly stressed. The main tasks are to be more effective, to properly exploit already existing legal opportunities, to have consistent work by the investigation bodies, administration of justice and control, and, above all, to show a determined and sharp reaction to all evil.

Courts should impose extra punishments to the extent possible, such as a ban on holding office, or publicizing corruption cases. Yet when this extra punishment is imposed, the mass media are not eager to seize on them and publicize them. This arouses justifiable unease and criticism among the workers class and working people.

The government is preparing and will shortly submit to the Sejm a draft set of legal amendments that will provide for more severe penalties for persons in public office if these persons are guilty of glaring mismanagement and waste.

There is also a growing need for better organized cooperation between appropriate state and social bodies. In April 1981 the coordinating commission for strengthening and observing law and order was set up. This commission did not function during martial law because there were other mechanisms performing its tasks. Right now it is useful to reestablish this coordinating activity, above all, in the fight against crime and for the observance of law and order.

I believe that this commission should be chaired by Comrade Czeslaw Kiszczak, Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs, just as he has done in the past.

I do not wish to expound on the lively-debated subject of illegal profiteering and the creation of fortunes. We have a clear view on this subject: We must protect craftsmen's trades, permit the functioning of the private sector to a correct extent and in a proper form, and at the same time firmly combat everything degenerate that harms one's feeling of social justice, and which is irreconcilable with socialist norms. Legal state possibilities have been created for combating these phenomena -- the new tax system, special fiscal services, and investigations at various levels. Right now the main task is the consistent implementation of the above possibilities and severe reaction to deviations. It is a process whose success is largely determined by the support and active participation of working people.

Comrades, in these difficult times our party faces tasks perhaps as difficult as during the first years of our revolution. They have to be handled with the same fervor and energy as was manifested at that time, although with different methods, reflecting our higher state in the socioeconomic transformations. There is an incomparably greater complexity of the problems to be solved, for there are different needs and expectations.

History teaches us that in the lives of nations there are good periods and bad. Nevertheless, the greatness of nations, of the force directing them, is evident when they are able to not just survive but overcome unfavorable phases of history. Not long ago we said that the most important thing in Poland is calm. Today and tomorrow what is of primary importance is a rational, creative unrest, a patriotic concern for an effective neutralization of the dangers and for making the most of the opportunities that exist.

Let us remember that our nation, following its liberation, started from an incomparably lower level. We have at our disposal the material achievements of the past 40 years. But how we exploit them now depends first and foremost on people's attitudes.

These attitudes will be shaped through the reform in the state and economic management system. Above all, they will be shaped by the ability of the party and allied parties and PRON to overcome the idea that certain things are impossible -- this is a great and historic duty of ours. After all, the countries where there is real socialism constitute a kind of oasis of stability in the worldwide ocean of economic chaos and disruption. They experience difficulties which arise from the international division of labor; nor can they opt out of the world economy and what it is governed by. In socialism, too, energy costs go up, the cost of human labor goes up, economic factors

which not so long ago were considered of secondary importance come into ever sharper focus. Despite this, the vigor of socialism, its adaptability, are qualitatively, better, without a doubt.

Our real economic future revolves around integration, in the broad sense, within the CEMA framework, the search for joint solutions beneficial to each and every partner. This readiness exists; action of this kind has begun; we will resolutely continue it. The mutually beneficial effects and manifestations of this cooperation are felt in this country more and more tangibly and are valued highly.

Let me just recall the joint accords, reached during the recent meetings and visits of Comrades Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar. We expect that the forthcoming visit of fraternal Czechoslovakia's party and state delegation headed by Comrade Husak will yield similarly positive results.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my satisfaction -- and to share it with my comrades -- that, following the great holiday-time youth exchange which we shall, incidentally, continue, an agreement has currently been reached between the unions of Poland and the GDR for an exchange of 40,000 trade union vacationers from each country. This number is to go up to 50,000 in 1985. We will try to develop similar fraternal contacts with the youth, unions, and parties of all our socialist allies.

We attach particular importance to the Soviet Union's cooperation and aid. We have spoken of this on many occasions. It is confirmed by practice. Soon an important Soviet economic delegation will arrive in our country for further joint economic decisions of tremendous importance for our economy.

Esteemed comrades, both in the course of the plenary session and at yesterday's meetings between the participants in the plenum and the leaders of the economic ministries there was open talk of difficult matters. This is how our fundamental duty toward the nation is to be understood: Tell the truth, even when it is bitter, even when it hurts -- but that does not mean that even in the immediate future we will see everything as black. We indulge neither in official optimism nor black pessimism. We simply proclaim realism. The whole part ought to be its spokesman and propagator.

We are coming to the end of the present year in general accord with the assumptions of the plan. If the fundamental tasks envisaged for the whole 3-year period are carried out -- and all reasonable conditions for this exist -- we will be able to afford a lasting and perceptible improvement of citizens' living conditions, a speedier solution of the urgent social problems, further systematic progress.

At the productive and economic front today a harsh ideological and political struggle is being waged. We must change the economic and sociopolitical reality of our country in the course of this struggle, but first and foremost through consistency and good sense in action, through a self-critical attitude to errors committed, through eliminating from our life all manifestations of evil and injustice. In a word, through daily rendering ourselves credible as the party of the ninth congress, as the party of socialist renewal, a Marxist-Leninist party.

We must also avail ourselves more broadly of our particularly valuable reserves, the unspent treasure chest of patriotism, which on so many occasions in the past has made it possible to deal with difficulties worse than those of today. This ought to be the basis today of a real social contract of the Polish nation, a contract for a successful -- and hence socialist -- future for Poland. Only the party can inspire and guarantee such a contract of life, a contract of national and patriotic need. What is at stake is the strength and prospects of the national economy as a whole. The thing is, despite all the differences that exist, to form a unity among Poles around a single supreme cause, the cause of improving and developing the national economy.

Dear comrades, our current, 14th plenum fulfills and ought to fulfill a great role. May it become the plenum of new opportunity. I cordially thank you for your contribution to its preparation, its course, and, above all, for what you are doing to consolidate the ideological, political, and economic state of the country. I cordially wish all members of the Central Committee, of the supreme authorities of our party, all invited guests, every success and the most fruitful possible results of their work for the good of our socialist homeland.

Resolution on Socioeconomic Tasks

AU291148 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Nov 83 p 2

["The 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum Resolution on Party Tasks in Increasing the Effectiveness of Implementing Socioeconomic Aims"; issued in Warsaw on 19 November]

[Text] The Central Committee states that the main socioeconomic tasks that were mapped out by the 9th party congress program and detailed in the 10th plenum resolution are being correctly implemented. The slump tendencies in the economy have been halted, and the process of rectifying the economy has begun, although the situation continues to be difficult and complicated. The opportunities to gradually raise the working people's living standards are growing.

The Central Committee expresses its respect and praise for the working people and the workers class, who have been most painfully affected by the results of the crisis and are shouldering most of the efforts to overcome it, raising labor productivity and working overtime.

The Central Committee stresses with emphasis that the class character of the socioeconomic policy adopted by the ninth congress must be consistently expressed through particular concern for the workers class' interests.

The Central Committee accepts the Politburo report on the party's tasks in increasing the effectiveness of implementing socioeconomic aims. The Central Committee stresses the importance of the evaluations and proposals contained in the concluding plenum speech made by Comrade W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, for all party activities. The Central Committee appeals to all party cells and organizations and party members, especially those active in state and economic administration, in people's councils, and in workers and cooperative self-management bodies to implement the activities, evaluations, proposals, and tasks contained in the Politburo report and in W. Jaruzelski's concluding speech.

Inspired by the class evaluation of economic processes, the Central Committee regards the following tasks as the most crucial:

1. The key task is to ensure that the production of consumer goods next year moves much faster than the general increase in industrial production. For this reason it is necessary to ensure that the plants turning out consumer goods are granted priority for material supplies and that where socially necessary the basic goods used daily by the working people are produced under the scheme of government orders. It is necessary to ease the manpower shortages in the plants that turn out consumer goods.

The Central Committee expects that the modifications of economic mechanisms in 1984 will be more effective in promoting this line of structural changes.

2. It is necessary to intensify activities aimed at enabling the national economy to create the material and social conditions for developing agriculture and the food economy as laid down by the resolution adopted by the 11th PZPR Plenum and the ZSL. This should be done by developing the processing base of farm produce and food and by

increasing the supplies of production means to agriculture, thereby consolidating the conditions for improving the feeding of people.

This should be facilitated by tapping production reserves in farming and by improving economic mechanisms based on the principles of the economic reform and adjusted to the specifics of farming and the processing of farm produce and food.

The flow of food calls for special attention. Permanent improvements in the flow of foodstuffs to the market depend on maintaining the correct proportions between the prices for the means of farm production, the prices for farm produce procurement, and the retail food prices. This should become a standing principle of the state's economic policy.

The Central Committee thinks that it is necessary for the state administrative bodies to ensure that the discussion of the changes in the food retail prices as proposed by the Prices Office is genuine. The proposals resulting from this discussion should be used when developing the solutions that take into account economic and social conditions. The views of the working people, especially those whose living conditions are the worst, should be given careful attention. The views submitted by trade unions will be most fully considered. The results and proposals produced by the discussion should be presented most frankly to the people before decisions are made.

3. In order to overcome restrictions on development, especially in the sector of material supplies and the rational exploitation of manpower resources, the Central Committee deems it necessary to develop a long-term program for structurally transforming our economy. On the basis of this program it will be possible to make correct decisions on investments, technological progress, and international cooperation.

Such a program should be developed by the middle of 1984 so that it can become an integral part of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990.

4. Difficulties in the supplies of raw and other materials are a threat to achieving the planned increase in 1984 production. The planned targets can be achieved only by reducing the materials intensiveness of production and by tightening the rigors of conserving materials. The honest implementation of the government conservation program by all the echelons of administration and management should be of help in this regard. Economic mechanisms should ensure that conservation is profitable for workers, enterprises, and the entire economy. We still need the party's high militancy in winning social support for effectively implementing the conservation programs.

The Central Committee takes a critical view of the continued deterioration in the quality of goods and services and demands that control checks be tightened and people be taken to account for producing useless products. The situation makes it imperative to carefully monitor the effectiveness of the 1984 modifications of the mechanisms in that sector and, if necessary, to increase the force of their impact.

5. The Central Committee regards the more consistent and effective struggle against all manifestations of criminality and economic ills, especially waste in production, in trade, in transportation, and in the exploitation of the fixed production assets, manpower, and work time as a task of special importance. Overcoming and curbing the negative results of these manifestations throughout the national economy should be regarded as a prerequisite for increasing material production. Action in this regard is important economically, as well as politically and morally.

These measures should include efforts to stimulate all the elements of social action and to encourage initiative in the communities of technicians and economists. It is necessary to consistently take to task the people who are responsible for waste and other manifestations of economic ills, no matter what functions they discharge and what posts they occupy.

6. The Central Committee states that curbing inflation is one of the main aims of socioeconomic policy. Comprehensive activities aimed at increasing production and labor productivity, lowering costs, promoting universal savings, and relating incomes to goods production are the starting point for combating inflation.

The Central Committee deems it necessary to take effective measures to curb price hikes in 1984. The modifications of economic mechanisms are one way to do this. It is necessary to make fuller use of the solutions that act as safeguards against uncontrolled price increases. One such solution is depriving dishonest enterprises of the power of independently fixing prices. Party organizations in enterprises should pay greater attention to the costs and prices of their products.

7. In line with the principles of the economic reform the powers of enterprises and cooperatives in developing their own motivational systems will be increased. Work in this regard should be speeded up so that enterprises are able to introduce their systems as of 1984. The introduction of new wage principles in enterprises should go hand in hand with sorting out the norms of work and employment and with changes in the structure of manpower. In the course of this work the party organizations in enterprises should see that the principle of "to each according to his work" is observed.

It is urgently necessary to develop the principles of central wage policy and the instruments of its implementation. The primary task of this policy should be determining the increase rate of wages in line with the increase in social productivity of labor. Central wage policy should also determine the proportions of wages in the interbranch setup and in the production and nonproduction setup.

The class character of the socialist state makes it necessary that social benefits, assistance, and study grants are granted above all to those individuals, families, and groups that really need the care provided by the entire working community. It is necessary to ponder the possibility of concentrating social benefits so that the groups of people who are better off are unable to claim them freely and can therefore greater benefits be paid out to those who need them most. It is necessary to ponder the desirability of setting up a government-trade union commission that would most carefully evaluate the present system of social benefits.

Developing the correct proportions between the wage level in the socialized economy and the incomes in the nonsocialized sector should be a crucial element of a broadly conceived income policy.

8. The just development of incomes and, especially, of their correct proportions should be ensured by taxation policy and the system of fiscal control, as proposed by the ninth congress resolution.

The Central Committee states with emphasis that the incomes obtained without the necessary work effort, getting rich at the cost of the community, and making fortunes by unlawful means is being and will be combated with all possible economic, legal, and punitive powers. The Central Committee addresses this task to the administrative bodies, the fiscal apparatus, the prosecuting bodies, and the judicial bodies. The successful implementation of this task depends to a great extent on the extensive support and militant participation of the working people. The new taxation regulations should be resolutely exploited. Legal sanctions should be applied in the cases of taxation irregularities. The PZPR Deputies' Club is instructed to demonstrate the necessary initiative and militancy in the work to update the rules of the Penal Code.

9. Effectively solving the development problems of our economy calls for active participation in the international division of labor. This participation can be facilitated by promoting our economy's export specialization. Within the framework of the process of the socialist economic integration special attention should be paid to

expanding our comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA member-states and to continuing the process of reorienting our economy toward closer production and scientific-technical links with these countries.

Poland is interested in developing trade with the capitalist countries on the principle of equality and mutual advantage. This trade must not be subjected to restrictions or to any political conditions. The Central Committee fully maintains its position, as defined by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, on solving Poland's payment problems.

10. In order to reduce the technical gap, to maintain the effectiveness of the existing resources of machinery, and to save the invaluable production assets from accelerated obsolesence it is primarily necessary for enterprises to maintain the desired technical state of machines and installations. It is necessary to exploit more resolutely the potential of the domestic scientific research and design facilities. It is necessary to protect the position of technical cadres, to stimulate their militancy, and to create conditions for discovering talent and promoting new ideas and activities. The methods of centrally running research and its practical application should be ensured high effectiveness and usability. The liaison between science and industry should be increased by various measures, including government orders for research and development work in the subjects that are important for the economy. Government orders should also be used for the practical application of research.

Investment policy and systems-type solutions should create the necessary priorities for modernization investments that introduce new techniques, technologies, and modern designs. Efforts should be made to increase the share of the technologies produced by the socialist countries in modernizing the domestic production apparatus.

Party organizations in production enterprises should support with special care the movement of rationalization and inventiveness developing among workers, technicians, and engineers. It is necessary to speed up the completion of work to develop new principles of rewarding rationalization of ideas and inventions. The work to draw up the legislation on the rationalization movement should also be speeded up.

11. The Central Committee reaffirms its position taken at the 10th plenum on developing and improving the performance of transformation, whose ineffectiveness continues to increase as production increases. Government decisions made in this connection should be implemented with greater resolution than has so far been the case.

12. The Central Committee reaffirms its resolution to continue the economic reform undertaken on the party's initiative. The Central Committee deems it necessary to take more effective measures to counter the efforts of enterprises to exploit the facilities provided by the economic reform in order to achieve the benefits -- to the of society -- that are not justified by actual production. It is necessary to combat all conservative attitudes, old habits, and unwillingness to learn new things.

Completing the work to draw up normative legislation in order to enable enterprises to include modifications during the development of their own plans for 1984 is as urgent task.

It is necessary to adjust more speedily the action methods of the central bodies of economic management to the reform principles of the performance of the economy. Party organizations in these bodies should demonstrate more initiative in this connection.

13. The Central Committee takes the view that in order to raise the level of the people's economic awareness it is necessary to expand the information on the state of the economy and its branches and of enterprises.

Good or bad results of enterprises' performance, which are essential for the people, must be evaluated openly. It is the duty of the mass media to transmit to the public honest reports on how enterprises meet public needs and on the reasons for failures to meet these needs. It is necessary to propagate the practical knowledge of the enterprises that effectively reconcile the interests of the work forces with national interests and to popularize the people who give examples of the socialist way of working and living.

14. The Central Committee appeals to basic party organizations to show particular solicitude for the daily affairs of the workers class in enterprises. The enterprise programs for social activities should be an integral part of the enterprise plans for 1984.

15. The Central Committee instructs party organizations and cells, the Central Committee commissions, and the Central Committee departments to cooperate with the corresponding bodies of state and economic administration to detail the tasks resulting from the debates and resolutions of the 14th Central Committee Plenum and to incorporate these tasks in specific action programs. The implementation timetables based on these programs will be published by 15 December 1983 and the reports of the implementation of the tasks will be published by the end of June 1984.

We will implement the tasks resulting from this resolution in the 40th year of People's Poland. In our daily work we will think of the beginnings of our socialist reality, of the years of heroic struggles and reconstruction, of the enthusiasm of creation, and of the methods of work and competition in those days. As in those days so now the personal commitment of each one of us and the effort in every job will be the most decisive factors.

Our ambitions can be fulfilled only in creative competition and in practically supporting the implementation of the social aims mapped out by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

PZPR OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON PARTY-UNION TIES

PM291514 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of PZPR Central Committee Social and Vocational Affairs Department, by Lucjan Prackio, date, place not given]

[Text] Pracki: Last August party and government leaders met union aktivs from the whole country at the Baildon steelworks. In September the Central Committee Politburo and the Government Presidium met to discuss the realization of recommendations passed at that first meeting. Union issues were given much consideration at the 10th, 12th and 13th Plenums. Recently the first meeting took place between representatives of party leadership and chairmen of the new union organizations operating above enterprise level. Contacts dictated by current work situations are becoming everyday practice. Can all this be seen as an expression of a new style in the cooperation between the party and the trade unions?

Gabrielski: Contacts are indeed lively and this does confirm the fact of the realization of the line adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress, a line of socialist renewal in which cooperation, as between partners, with vocational and social organizations constitutes the basis of party policy. The 13th plenum resolution states that in everyday party work priority significance is given those political and ideological initiatives that serve to consolidate ties with the working class and with all working people. These ties are realized first and foremost through cooperation with workers' mass organizations -- in particular with trade unions and workers' self-management structures.

Pracki: According to what principles is this cooperation being developed? Does it not restrict the independence of those organizations?

Gabrielski: The party and the trade unions share the same working-class character and they both defend the same interests of the working people. This is the origin of the community of their aims and aspirations. This is also why their mutual assistance and cooperation are so important. In contrast to the practice of the past period, they are based on the principles of partnership, respect for the other side's independence, and granting the other side a right to hold its own opinions. The party has drawn conclusions from its past experience. In accordance with the standpoint defined at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, party organizations and structures have a duty to support and assist the trade unions in carrying out their statutory tasks and functions; safeguard their position of independence with respect to state and economic administration; ensure that their rights and their duties, as well as their opinions, are respected; help them in settling their disputes; and cooperate with them in putting their valid suggestions and recommendations into effect. In addition, it is a party member's duty to directly participate in union activity.

Pracki: This last obligation is not yet being carried out in any widespread manner....

Gabrielski: This is true. We have not yet been successful in galvanizing the whole party into contributing to a revival of the trade union movement. That is why both the 12th and the 13th Central Committee plenums had put such emphasis on the importance of doing just that. It follows from our fundamental and ideological premises that PZPR members must not stand outside the unions. Acting out of their deepest conviction, they should work within union ranks, and they ought, through their activity on behalf of the interests of the working man, to win the unionists, along with entire milieus of working people, over to party policy. I expect that in the course of the recently launched report and election campaign every executive body and every enterprise committee will carry out an assessment of their performance in discharging this important task.

Pracki: How could one characterize the current situation in the process of trade union development?

Gabrielski: We have a steadily expanding and -- most important -- a self-organizing movement here, a movement that has already reached the proportions of an important social and political phenomenon. In keeping with our earlier prognosis and in spite of the boycott applied by the political adversary, the union movement keeps gaining ever-increasing understanding and support from the workers. It is being built through the joint effort of party members and those who do not belong to the party; former members of all previous union formations are finding a place for themselves within it. The architects of the reborn unions are united through their will to serve the workers' cause. It was earlier than anticipated that this movement entered the phase of organizing structures operating above the enterprise level and evolved a new, numerous, and bold aktiv, which preserves strong links with its working environment and is open to cooperation with our party. In short, the unions are becoming an important factor in the development of socialist democracy.

Pracki: And yet there is still no lack of obstacles to their development....

Gabrielski: Quite. Some work forces continue to doubt whether the new unions can effectively defend the workers' interests. Those people have to be understood and convinced with facts.

Obstacles are also raised by some representatives of the administration who are either unfamiliar with, or unwilling to respect, the rights of the unions. In cases of that kind, party organizations should take all possible steps to support the unions in enforcing their well-justified rights.

Another, more delicate and complex question is that of the disputes that sometimes arise between the unions and self-management bodies over the issue of their respective competence. Obviously, things can be remedied here to a large extent by the interpretative commentary on the regulations currently being prepared, and also by mediatory action on the part of party organizations. But the most important thing is to foster the realization that both the unionists and self-management activists are representatives of the same work forces and that they should cooperate closely with each other in the latters' interests. The struggle for a socialist profile for the trade unions also continues to be a vital issue. Therefore, we are determined to join the fight against all manifestations of subversion on the part of the political adversary. In this area the unions should find a particularly active ally in party organizations.

Pracki: The trade unions are starting their work in a very difficult period. They need to achieve some success to lend them credibility. Does this not carry within it the danger that they will seek for success at any price?

Gabrielski: We discussed this at our recent meeting with the leaders of the new unions, and the same issue was also discussed at the 13th plenum. We want to persuade the unions and self-management bodies that they cannot strive for one-sided, apparent benefits for their work forces, since such attempts are bound to backfire against their own interests. Under our crisis conditions it is inevitable that if wages are forced up -- to give just one example -- without a corresponding increase in production and productivity, then inflation will rise to reach disaster proportions, a disaster which will hit the working people. Many union organizations and self-management bodies comprehend the nature of the problem -- and the danger -- and they take it into consideration in their work programs.

Pracki: The party's consistent stance in the matter of realizing the recommendations submitted by trade unionists at, say, the Katowice meeting, is particularly noteworthy. Decisions concerning that issue were made at the highest level. Is that going to be the rule?

Gabrielski: I think that that will depend on the weight of the matters submitted. In Katowice some 100 recommendations were submitted that were of fundamental significance to the future of the union movement. That was why the method of their realization was decided upon at the level of the highest political and state authorities. It also expressed the regard in which the party held those millions of trade unionists who were courageous enough to take upon themselves the effort of organizing the new unions during such a complex period, and who -- as everything seems to indicate -- chose the correct line of action.

Pracki: What line was that?

Gabrielski: From the start they created strong ties connecting the newly recreated unions with class tradition, with workers' democracy, and with the socialist system, and that defined unequivocally the union's ideological profile and suited the long-term interests of the working people. They also make use of everything that was good in the August social agreements with the working class, and in the experience of the old unions.

Despite the existing barriers, this creates a good basis for the continuing development of strong, independent, and class-based unions, that is, the kind of unions that both the workers and their workers party have in mind.

Pracki: What matters are now the subject of particular concern for the party and the trade unions?

Gabrielski: First and foremost those which, as a result of the Katowice meeting, featured among the decisions of the Central Committee's Politburo and the Government Presidium. The main concerns are to work out a formula for social consultations and to increase the role played in those by the trade unions; to approve a new model of collective labor contracts and -- possibly -- to introduce enterprise-level social agreements; to analyze the results of the consultations and to implement a new wage system; to carry out an analysis of and introduce essential alterations into the principles of creating and managing enterprise funds, especially the social welfare and housing funds; to create favorable conditions for the restoration and effective functioning of the social labor inspectorate; and so on.

Pracki: In the decisions issued by the Politburo and the Government Presidium the realization of many union recommendations was entrusted -- either partially or totally -- to party organizations and instances. This is a novel method. What does it mean in practice for, say, party and union organizations at enterprise level?

Gabrielski: We have already discussed the principles and some of the tasks involved in their mutual cooperation. But the needs, as well as opportunities, are much greater. It is, for example, necessary to create among work forces an atmosphere of well-disposed interest in the work of the unions and to advertise their achievements in direct conversation with the people, as well as through the factory loudspeaker networks. It is also essential for both sides to learn the difficult art of partnership and agreement, and how to establish their respective standpoints over the most important issues. Party members can give a great deal of help with the shaping and implementation of union programs. But at the same time the observations and conclusions of the members of class-based unions constitute important signals of workers' needs and attitudes and they can influence the shape of party programs. Thus, we need each other. That is why we must not forget about the necessity of making periodic assessments of the work that party members do within trade unions and in workers' self-management bodies, or that of laying down individual tasks for party members in those areas.

Pracki: While at the same time recognizing the unions' right to autonomy?

Gabrielski: Of course, that is a basic requirement. We must be careful to avoid any arbitrary attitudes and also not to force our own opinions on them. After all, we are dealing with independent and self-governing unions, which basically sort out their own problems by themselves and which themselves work for their position in their enterprises and in the country. The party's task is to support their constructive activities and initiatives.

Pracki: Thank you for the conversation.

PUBLIC SUBMITS ARTICLES BACKING STAND ON MISSILES

AU301131 [Editorial Report] ROMANIA LIBERA on 28 November carries on page 5 five articles, ranging from 300-650 words, by provincial Romanian cultural figures, workers, and educational cadres expressing what a boldface introduction says is "complete support" for "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and proposals regarding the elimination of the nuclear danger" and for the declaration of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, which opposes the siting of new U.S. and Soviet missiles in Europe.

After discussing recent events such as "the arrival of U.S. missiles in certain West European countries," "the disruption of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva," and "the announcement by the Soviet Union that it will take measures to deploy tactical and operational missiles with enhanced range in the GDR and the CSSR," one author, a worker from Transylvania, stresses that it is "necessary for all those who love life and peace to unite" and "to stop the arms race and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament." He also stresses that it is more than ever necessary to do everything possible to stop the deployment of nuclear missiles and to proceed to withdrawing and destroying the ones in place.

A Moldavian university professor calls upon the "leaders of the Soviet Union and of the United States and on the leadership bodies in the two countries to place mankind's interests and safeguarding peoples' lives above everything else and to act so that an agreement will be reached that will stop the deployment of new missiles and bring about a cutback in existing ones." All the contributors emphasize that all Romanian people are against actions that will lead to a nuclear disaster, that nuclear missiles cannot safeguard peace and security in Europe, and that peace is the fundamental right of all peoples.

Apart from the two instances quoted, there is no explicit reference to the U.S.-Soviet negotiations in Geneva.

NICOLAE, ANDREI MEET PAKISTANI FINANCE MINISTER

AU301838 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1747 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/11/1983 -- The ninth session of the joint Romanian-Pakistani Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Scientific Cooperation and Collaboration started in Bucharest on Wednesday, November 30. The two delegations led by Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of chemical industry, and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, minister of finance, commerce and economic affairs, analyse the way in which the provisions of the previous session were implemented, as well as the ways of further developing economic relations and commercial exchanges between the two countries on mutually advantageous terms.

The same day, the Pakistani guest was received by Ion M. Nicolae, deputy prime minister. Aspects were approached of the economic relations between Romania and Pakistan, with emphasis on the possibilities offered by the economies of the two countries for the expansion and diversification of bilateral collaboration and cooperation.

The Pakistani minister also had an interview with Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei during which reference was made with satisfaction to the positive course of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Pakistan. The mutual wish was also expressed to expand and diversify the Romanian-Pakistani relations on multiple planes, and opinions were exchanged on aspects of the current international situation.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES FRENCH RPR DELEGATION

AU252029 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1933 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 21/11/1983 -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received on Friday, November 25, a delegation of the French party Rassemblement pour la Republique of France (RPR), led by Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, national secretary of the party.

The delegation is made up of Claude Gerard Marcus, RPR deputy, member of the foreign policy commission of the National Assembly, and Michael de Guillenchmidt, member of the Executive Committee of the RPR. Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, and Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, participated in the interview.

The head of the delegation handed over President Nicolae Ceausescu a message from Jaques Chirac, the president of the Rassemblement pour la Republique, that conveys him a warm salute and best wishes of good health and happiness. Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the message and asked that the president of the Rassemblement pour la Republique be conveyed his warm salute and best wishes.

During the talk the sides laid stress with satisfaction on the good relations established between the Romanian Communist Party and the French party Rassemblement pour la Republique, and expressed the wish to organize new actions in view of further developing these relations based on fully equal rights, mutual esteem and respect. The sides asserted the conviction that an expansion and intensification of the collaboration between the RCP and the RPR served the cause of general development, and fruitful collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and France, contributing to an ever closer rapprochement between the Romanian and French peoples, to mutual interest, to the interest of peace, progress and understanding in Europe and throughout the world.

Also tackled were certain problems of the current international situation. In the context the sides expressed concern over the worsening of the international situation, the growing tension and confrontation throughout the world and laid stress on the need for further action to be taken firmly for diminishing tension, and for a resumption of the policy of peace, detente, independent development and cooperation, of solving of all inter-state conflicts and disputed issues only by peaceful, negotiated ways.

Special attention was paid to the European security and cooperation. In that frame, it was considered that the fundamental issue for Europe now was the danger of emplacement already this year of the new medium-range nuclear missiles, of any nuclear missiles, which would heighten still more the danger of war, nuclear in particular.

It was stressed that under the circumstances it was imperiously necessary to take concrete disarmament steps without which one could conceive detente, security and peace in Europe and the world over, the resumption of the dialogue regarding the halting of the arms race and the renunciation of the emplacement of new missiles in Europe.

Reiterated was the wish of the RCP and RPR to contribute to the development of ever closer collaboration among parties and other progressive forces in the world in the struggle for detente, disarmament and security, for enhancing the confidence and strengthening the collaboration among nations, for the attainment of the peoples' aspirations after peace, independence and progress.

The interview proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

UN ENVOY AGAIN URGES NEW MEDIATION COMMISSION

AU251743 Bucharest AGREPRES in English 1620 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] United Nations AGERPRES 25/11/1983 -- During the debates held in the Legal Committee of the UN General Assembly on the peaceful settlement of interstate diferences, an item included in the 1979 agenda of Romania's initiative, Ambassador Teodor Marinescu outlined the active stance, constant concerns and concrete proposals of his country, of President Nicolae Ceasescu regarding the settlement of all issues in interstate relations through negotiations, by exclusively peaceful means, so that the recourse to violence, to the use and threat of force should be liquidated from the international life.

The proposal repeatedly expressed by Romania's president for the creation of a UN standing commission of good offices, mediation and conciliation to settle differences and prevent interstate conflicts was outlined at length, being a proposal enlarged upon this year in an official document of the General Assembly, sponsored by Romania together with Nigeria and the Philippines.

The standing commission would act as a body which should support the General Assembly and Security Council in fulfilling their attributions, in preventing the aggravation of differences, in stopping their evolution towards conflicts and assisting the sides in solving letigious issues. This would be apt to provide the world organization a firmer and more active position in the promotion of negotiations, of peaceful solutions, and to permanently put at the states' disposal a flexible means able to prevent the deterioration of the situation, being also an outstanding contribution to raising the efficiency of the UN mechanism in peacefully solving disputed issues.

The essence of Romania's proposal is to encourage and favour negotiations, to provide an ever more propitious framework apt to facilitate contacts and bring the stands of the sides in litigation nearer. It reflects the consistent stance of Romania and her president according to which any problem, no matter how complicated and difficult it might be, can be solved through negotiations.

Next, the Romanian representative referred to the draft resolution on the peaceful settle settlement of interstate differences.

The draft provides for the further examination by the special committee for the UN charter and the strengthening of the organization's role of the proposals advanced by the states in this respect, among which there is also Romania's proposal regarding the setting up of a standing commission of good offices, mediation and conciliation.

Referring to the declaration on the peaceful settlement of international differences adopted in 1982 upon Romania's initiative, the draft resolution calls again on all states to observe and apply in good faith the provisions of this document, and points to the necessity of continuing the endeavours for the strengthening of the UN role and contribution to the peaceful resolution of any international questions.

It also envisages the inclusion in the agenda of the next General Assembly session of an item regarding the peaceful settlement of interstate differences which provides the necessary framework for a further examination of Romania's proposal and of other proposals apt to lead to the growing role of the world organization in a peaceful solution to the problems facing mankind, in safeguarding peace and security, the national independence and freedom of all states and peoples.

'RESISTANCE MOVEMENT' DECRIES GOVERNMENT POLICY

AU301303 [Editorial Report] Vienna DIE PRESSE in German on 30 November, page 2, carries a 600-word "special report" headlined "On the 65th Anniversary of the Great Unification: Resistance Movement Accuses Bucharest." The paper says the this anniversary is being celebrated in Romania "not only in a disastrous economic crisis, but also in an atmosphere of nationalist persecution," and that a "democratic resistance movement, People's Freedom," has directed a "dramatic appeal to world public opinion." The paper says:

"A letter, which reached the West in a roundabout way, requests that influence be exerted on the Bucharest leadership to 'alter its nationalities and economic policy, and put an end to terror and dictatorship.' Only an international investigation committee working on the spot could establish the truth, the appeal says, outlining the unbearable situation in Romania in a few key words: 'We are drawing attention to the living standards, the mother-tongue education system [for minorities], religious discrimination and discrimination against nationalities, the forcible Romanianization, and also to the fact that even the Romanian people are being deceived, divided, and harassed.'

"The presidium of the movement, whose activities are said to include not only Hungarians, Germans, and representatives of other nationalities but also many Romanians, itself plays down somewhat the economic crisis, though also blaming it on the leadership: 'What is unbearable for us is not so much hunger and economic misery, but the fact that we are contantly and everywhere being deprived of our human dignity... actually irrespective of nationality.' Neither acts of terrorism nor any sabotage are planned -- we want 'nothing but to live in human dignity,' the appeal states. It announces the compilation of extensive documentation about the oppression."

SCIENTIFIC SESSION MARKS UNIFICATION ANNIVERSARY

AU242130 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/11/1983 -- In celebration of the December 1, 1918 event, on November 24 a scientific session was organized at the Ministry of the National Defence, dealing with "setting up of the Romanian unitary national state -- crowning of the struggle waged by Romanians for unity, independence and social progress. The unity of the people around the RCP and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu -- decisive fctor in building the multilaterally developed socialist society and in strengthening the homeland's defensive ability."

Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, scientists, men of letters, party and state activists, cadres of research institutions participated. The opening speech was made by the minister of national defence who pointed out the importance of the celebrated historic moment in Romanian people's national and social emancipation struggle.

At the same time, emphasis was placed on the fact that the celebration of the great event proceeds in conditions in which the ideals of the forerunning generations regarding the unity, freedom and independence of the country are today a reality, the Romanian people closely united around the RCP and its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, dedicatedly carrying through the resolutions of the 12th congress and of the national conference of the party.

A host of scientific papers were delivered during the session, which disclosed the importance of that historic event, the steady struggle waged along the centuries by the Romanian people for unity, freedom and independence, the role of the masses in accomplishing the great union and all the transformations that were wrought in the homeland's economic, social and political life. Likewise, emphasis was placed on the active participation of the Army in all outstanding moments that set landmarks in Romania's history, its dedication to the people and to the whole home and foreign policy of the RCP and Romanian state.

BRIEFS

MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT RECEIVES ENVOY -- Nouakchott AGERPRES 11/11/1983 -- Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, conveyed Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, a message of friendship and cordial greeting and expressed satisfaction at having the opportunity to meet him soon to continue the productive dialogue started in Nouakchott in April 1982. The message was conveyed during the reception of the charge d'affaires a.i. of Romania to Mauritania, Dimitrie Stanescu. Highlighting the importance of the visit he will pay to Romania, the Mauritanian head of state pointed to the determination of the Military Committee of National Salvation and of the Mauritanian Government to work for the consolidation, deepening and expansion of the relations of friendly cooperation with Romania and domains of common interest. He also reasserted the wish to intensify the cooperation of the two countries on an international plane, at the UN, within the Group of 77 and of the Non-Aligned Movement. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1020 GMT 11 Nov 83 AU]

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH CONGO -- Brazzaville AGERPRES 11/11/1983 -- The proceedings of the 9th session of the joint Romanian-Congolese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation concluded in Brazzaville. In the spirit of the recommendations and orientations set by the party and state leaders of the two countries, Nicolae Ceausescu and Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the delegations examined measues for further developing bilateral economic relations. The stage was also analysed of the economic relations between the two countries, stress being laid on the good relations of collaboratin and friendship established between Romania and the Congo, on the positive results scored in intensifying economic cooperation. The co-chairmen of the commission, Marin Capisizu, minister secretary of state at the ministry of agriculture and food industry, and Emmanuel Yoka, minister in charge of cooperation, signed the protocol of the session which stipulates the development of the Romanian-Congolese cooperation in domains of joint interest, such as forestry, agriculture, mining and energy. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1420 GMT 11 Nov 83 AU]

OUTGOING EGYPTIAN ENVOY -- Bucharest AGERPRES 28/11/1983 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on Monday, November 28, the ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Bucharest, Muhammad Wafiq Husni, on a farewell call at the end of his mission in Romania. A talk was conducted on the occasion, which passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1502 GMT 28 Nov 83 AU]

SPILJAK CONGRATULATES LEBANON'S AL-JUMAYYIL

AU262145 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, has congratulated, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Amin al-Jumayyil, president of Lebannon on the national holiday of the Republic of Lebanon.

The telegram emphasizes among other things Yugoslavia's complete support for Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity as well as for all efforts to restore the unity and create the conditions for stable peace of that nonaligned country.

MILKA PLANINC RECEIVES OUTGOING PRC ENVOY

LD252351 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, received today in farewell audience Peng Guangwei, PRC ambassador to the SFRY. He will be leaving our country soon.

LJUBICIC ON ENEMY, EMIGRATION IN KOSOVO

AU300841 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 83 p 2

["Excerpts" from speech by Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, opening a shirt factory at Zubni Potok near Titova Mitrovica, Kosovo, on 23 November]

[Excerpts] On these November days when we are marking the 40th anniversary of the second session of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], at which the foundations have been laid for the brotherly community of equal peoples and nationalities, we are paying respect ot all those brave workers, miners, peasants, youth youths, and girls who built their young lives in the foundations of freedom which we now enjoy.

The Republic of Serbia will continue to realize its obligations in the development of Kosovo through pooling the resources in the fund of the Federation. At the same time, it is developing wider forms of cooperation of regions, communes, and work organizations, such as this one we are commissioning today and the one whose cornerstone we laid this morning.

We are witnessing that some forces outside the country and some in the country and endeavoring to spread and to deepen mistrust, to sow doubts in our efforts, and to hinder us in the common building of our tomorrow. We must pay much more attention to this.

We must now allow cracks to appear in our unity. Therefore we must develop more the things that link us and encourage links in the economy, culture, youth work, and all other spheres of self-managing life. We will not allow anybody to jeopardize or to diminish the results of our overall development, and especially not the great results in the development of the Province of Kosovo. The front of the battle fought can be held only by determined and brave fighters, only by those who really have at heart the interests of socialist self-managing and independent Yugoslavia.

For all the citizens of Yugoslavia who respect the Constitution and the law, we must ensure equality, equal rights, and the same conditions of life and work.

We must clash even more resolutely and persistently with all those who are bringing in a feeling of uncertainty, fear, a feeling leading to emigration. Security and tranquility of people are beyond price. Therefore we must battle even more resolutely all the protagonists of counterrevolutionary, irredentist, and nationalist strivings. We must proceed even more resolutely from the results of the struggle in Kosovo attained, and we must bring the battle of the LC to an end

Only when there will no longer be any pressure, and when we will ensure that all young people come together and working people in the town and country are active together, instead of being separated in nurseries, in colleges, at work, in the neighborhood, and in the street, only then we can be sure that we have won the battle.

As long as there is emigration and thinking about emigration, as long as people are leaving their job, their hearth, their home town or village and are looking for a new home for themselves and for the family, the situation must cause us concern. The process that leads to an ethnically pure Kosovo, which is what the counterrevolutionary forces strive for, is directed against the very being of our socialist community, and thus also against the historical interests not only of the Serbs and the Montenegrins, but also of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia. Therefore, the Albanians and the Serbs and the Montenegrins must unite in the struggle against the irredentists, and not -- as it has often been the case -- to withdraw from the battle into oneself, or to watch it.

Because some people keep silent and others leave, the front of the struggle against a common enemy is getting weaker. We all know that the ability and the possibility to master the difficulties and the problems which we are meeting depend mostly on our unity. Unity, however, is built in action, in efforts, in mastering difficulties and problems; and in implementing what has been agreed upon. Secondly, we all know that the levels of development of the republics and provinces, as well as the communes, in Yugoslavia differ, and that the structure of the economy differs. Nobody thinks that the development of the developed regions should be stopped with the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. It is clear, however, that a quicker development of the underdeveloped parts constitutes a lasting interest and condition of development of the entire country, including its developed regions. Therefore the fastest development of Kosovo is in the interest of Yugoslavia as a whole.

Therefore, we are bound to rely on each other and it is to nobody's benefit to intensify the differnces in opinions.

'POLITICIZATION' OF RELIGION IN KOSOVO VIEWED

AU271634 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 83 p 2

[M. Antic article: "Under Close Observation: Dangerous Seed"]

[Excerpts] Several religious communities are active in multinational Kosovo and the Islamic religious community, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Christian Adventist Church, the Baptist Church, and several dervish sects pursue their activities in an organized manner.

Following the counterrevolutionary events caused by the Albanian nationalists and irredenists, the clergy in Kosovo has intensifed its activities in all respects. Discussing this question, the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium has concluded that, according to a not-very-comprehensive analysis of the situation in this sphere, the religious associations and communities have been included and mobilized in unmasking the harmfulness of the Kosovo counterrevolutionary events primarily for the Albanian people. It is also noted that no clergymen participated in the demonstrations and disorders in 1981 and later.

Abuses

Nevertheless, it is an incontrovertible fact that the associations, religious communities, and their senior leaderships most frequently have not become at all engaged in unmasking the changed perfidious methods of activities of the enemies of all colors who have tried to exert pressure on members of the Serbian and Montenegrin populations to force them out of Kosovo.

The publishing and distribution of the religious press, which recently has not concerned itself only with religious questions, have increased. Politicization of churches and provoking confrontation with the sociopolitical organizations and communities can be traced in many articles. Antisocialist and antiself-managing concepts of development of our society are offered quite frequently in these articles. To date, the religious communities have passed over this fact in silence.

Rallying

Let us mention the clergy's offensive in assembling the believers at many rallies, meetings, religious lectures, and funerals. At these gatherings, it is not only religion that is preached: Political speeches are also made at such gatherings and mistrust is spread toward our society and everything that has been achieved in socialist construction. Some individual clergymen even openly sow nationalism. The entire recent activity of the clergy in Kosovo shows that large numbers of believers in Kosovo are burdened by the past. Some individual clergymen try to impose the slogan "that only a good member of a particular nationality can be a good believer of a particular religion." In the last 3 years, the clericalist forces of all religions that are active in Kosovo have tried to show themselves as the only protectors and "defenders" of the national interest and, according to them, the national interest is nothing else but "rallying all Albanians," "all Serbs," and so forth. This slogan of theirs is not even by a hair different from the slogan with which the Albanian nationalists moved toward counterrevolution. In the future, the Socialist Alliance and all progressive forces active within it will have to oppose this and other similar slogans in a more organized, more resolute way.

It is necessary to urgently stand in the way of yet another negative phenomenon. This is the attempt of the clergy to achieve at this time an expansion in building religious buildings. There have been several examples of this activity but characteristic is the example concerning the construction of a mosque in Kosovo Polje, which has been characterized as an attempt to exert pressure on the Serbian and Montenegrin populations. The Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium has concluded that, in some communities in the province, the responsible social subjective factors have adopted a liberalist and opportunist attitude toward clerical sectarianism, and all aforementioned negative phenomena, as well as toward the promoters of negative phenomena. In the future, this will not be possible, it was said, because the poison sown by individual clergymen is extraordinarily dangerous. Naturally, just as has been the case in the entire country until now, in the same way, in the future in Kosovo, no one will be denied the freedom of religious confession, but no politicization or abuse of religion and religious affairs, especially not for nationalist purposes and for what divides the people in this multinational community, will be allowed.

TV SHOWS ATTENDANCE AT PRESIDIUM SESSION 15 NOV

AU251126 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 15 November carries a 1.5-minute film clip on the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in Belgrade, presided over by Dragoslav Markovic.

The presidium discussed the implementation of the conclusions of the 10th session of the LCY Central Committee and the proclamation of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Several panning and single and group closeup shots show that the following attended the session in addition to Dragoslav Markovic: Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, Nikola Stojanovic; Dobrivoje Vidic; Dusan Ckrebic; Petar Matic; Slavko Veselinov; Kiro Hadzivasilev; Dimce Belovski; Miljan Radovic; Dane Cuic; Franjo Herljevic; Josip Vrhovec; Ali Sukrija; and Hamdija Pozderac. Seven of those shown as attending at one section of the table could not be recognized.

Belgrade Television on Serbo-Croatian at 2150 GMT on 15 November carries a 30-second report on the same session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which includes three still-group closeups showing, in addition to those listed above, Trpe Jakovlevski.

BRIEFS

UK FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS -- Belgrade, November 22 (TANJUG) -- The associated Belgrade Bank and Barclays Bank International signed here today (Tuesday) an agreement on the refinancing of Yugoslav firms' medium-term and long-term payments falling due by the end of this year, to the amount of 40 million pounds. The agreement provides for the five and a half year deferment of these payments according to the provisions of the "Berne Agreement" concluded in January of this year between Yugoslavia and government representatives of 15 industrially developed countries within the frameworks of this group's financial support to Yugoslavia. The Associated Belgrade Bank and Barclays Bank International signed the agreement as the coordinators of this new arrangement on behalf of 11 Yugoslav banks and a group of English banks. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 22 Nov 83 LD]

PRC COOPERATION ON JOURNALISM -- Peking, November 22 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav and Chinese journalists organizations signed here today (Tuesday) an agreement on the further expansion and advancement of cooperation. The agreement was signed by Presdidents of the Yugoslav and Chinese Journalists' federation Muharem Kulenovic and Liu Zhengqi, respectively. It provides for the exchange of delegations every second year and the development of cooperation between the two countries' main newspaper publishers, radio and television. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 22 Nov 83 LD]

TU COUNCIL ELECTION -- Belgrade -- Zdravko Krivina, from the Trade Union Federation of Slovenia, was today elected new member of the Presidium of the Yugoslavia Trade Union Federation Council. Lojze Fortuna, member of this body up to now, was relieved of his post at his own request for family reasons. Krvina's election as member of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council in place of Janez Bajuk was also verified today. The election of Husein Ahmovic as member of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council, in place of Predrag Trkic, whose mandate had expired, was also verified. [Excerpts] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 21 Nov 83 LD]